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THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AUSTRIAN POLITICAL LIFE

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Description

An analysis of the political significance of the Catholic Church in Austria and the factors which will determine its role in the reconstruction of the Austrian state.

Washington

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Summary	iii
I. Introduction	1
II. The Organization of the Church	3
A. Statistical Data	3
B. Territorial Organization	5
C. The Clergy	6
III. Church and Politics in the Habsburg Empire	9
A. Church and State	9
B. Clergy and People	10
C. The Church and Political Catholicism	12
IV. Church and Politics in the Republic (1919-1933)	17
A. Legal Status	17
B. The Church and Political Catholicism	18
V. The Church under the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg Regime (1932-1938)	24
A. The Concordat	24
B. The Constitution of 1934	27
VI. The Church under the Nazi Regime	32
A. Appeasement	32
B. Persecution	33
C. Disillusionment	38
1. The Clergy	38
2. The Lay Public	40
VII. Prospects for the Future	42
A. The Church's Political Role	42
B. The Church's Political Aims	44
Appendix I. The Austrian Bishoprics in 1944	48
Appendix II. Personal Data Concerning Austrian Clergy	50
Appendix III. The More Important Orders and Religious Congregations in Austria	59
Appendix IV. The Austrian Church and the Anschluss	64

SUMMARY

The Catholic Church has always been an important power in Austrian politics. Austria is a predominantly Catholic country, and the Church will continue to exert considerable political influence whatever the form of the future independent Austrian state. Traditionally the Church has protected its interests through cooperation with the existing powers in Austria. Under the Nazi regime its position was substantially but not irretrievably weakened. After liberation it is expected to endeavor to rebuild a position comparable to what it enjoyed before the Anschluss.

Statistically Austria is about 88 to 90 percent Catholic, but both the numerical strength and the intensity of Catholicism are much greater in the rural districts than in Vienna. Austria is divided into two Church Provinces (Vienna and Salzburg, each with two suffragans), and two independent Apostolic Administratures. The secular priesthood numbers 4,000 to 5,000; the regular clergy, which is influential in education and other fields, numbers around 18,000. The Church owns roughly 3.5 percent of the agricultural land and 5 percent of the forest land of Austria.

For nearly a century before the Nazi conquest the Church enjoyed an exceptionally favorable position, supporting the Habsburg monarchy in return for concessions in the sphere of its own particular interests. It was relatively little troubled by the anti-clerical, liberal, and Pan-German movements of the later nineteenth century. In the 1880's the Church began to participate in politics through the medium of the Christian Social Party, a lower bourgeois movement with anti-Semitic tendencies, headed by Karl Lueger. The Party accepted the Church's aid but not its direction. It broke the power of the older conservative movement, but

failed to achieve its chief objective, namely, to stem the rising power of the Social Democrats.

After World War I the Christian Socials were the strongest single party in the Austrian Parliament. Under the reactionary lead of Mgr. Ignaz Seipel, the Party generally worked hand in hand with the Catholic hierarchy, which also exerted a powerful influence through the medium of lay organizations, especially Catholic Action. Seipel's successor, Engelbert Dollfuss, instituted authoritarian government in 1933 with the approval of the hierarchy. Dollfuss's aim was the installation of a "Christian State" based on Catholic principles. Through the concordat of 1933-34 and the Fascist-type constitution of 1934 the Church received a position of unprecedented influence, particularly in the sphere of education and marriage law. The Church, in return, acquiesced in the suppression of the Socialists and the installation of totalitarian fascist rule.

The Church strongly backed the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime in its opposition to Anschluss with Germany. Nevertheless, Cardinal Innitzer (Archbishop of Vienna) and the rest of the clergy endorsed the Nazi occupation once it had been accomplished. The Church's hopes of safeguarding its own position in this way were disappointed. The Nazis suspended the Austrian concordat, introduced German marriage law, destroyed the Catholic educational system and press, dissolved Catholic organizations, encouraged apostasy, and expropriated much of the Church's wealth. Many of the clergy are said to have changed their attitude as a result of these persecutions, and there are now some inconclusive signs of a Catholic anti-Nazi movement and of improved relations between Catholics and Socialists.

After the overthrow of the Nazis the Church will occupy a favorable tactical position by virtue of the support of the

rural population as well as of the Vatican and of certain Catholic circles abroad. It may, however, encounter resistance from Social Democrats, Communists, and Liberals. On the other hand, revival of the Christian Social Party or a comparable organization is already under consideration in the Austrian committees abroad.

The Church is unlikely to aim at either a return to the "Christian State" of 1934 or an outright separation of church and state. Probably it will favor Austrian independence and accept a republican form of government, even though many of the clergy may still have monarchial preferences. Presumably the Church will aim primarily at the restitution of Church property and the re-establishment of a strong position such as it enjoyed under the 1933-34 Concordat.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AUSTRIAN POLITICAL LIFE

I. INTRODUCTION

In any consideration of the elements involved in the reconstruction of Austria, the Roman Catholic Church must occupy a prime position. Even if the future Austrian state is established on a liberal socialistic, or communistic basis, Austria will still be a predominantly Catholic country. The large Catholic element will continue to exist and, at least indirectly, to influence political life. Indeed, the Church, as the only important pre-Nazi social institution which has survived the Hitler regime, may be expected to make a strong bid for a position of leadership in the new Austria.

The political role of the Catholic Church in Austria, as in all countries, results from the interaction of the two main factors: (1) the policy of the Roman Catholic Church, as a whole with its supra-national organization centering in the Vatican, its political and social doctrines, and its claims to universal spiritual domination; and (2) the local social, political, and economic conditions and psychological atmosphere -- the secular environment -- within which the Church must operate. The nature of the political influence which the Church can exert in any given country depends on the willingness of the Catholic community in that country to see the Church in a position of political power. When competing secular and religious influences are strong they color the political behavior of the Church and limit its choice of objectives and methods.

In Austria, as in most European countries, the Church has in the past been fundamentally conservative and hostile to liberal, democratic, and socialistic or communistic tendencies. This conservative orientation has in part reflected the basically conservative outlook of the Vatican and the Church as a whole, based on both doctrinal and practical considerations.

In addition, it has been fortified in Austria by such factors as (1) the fact that the Church commands the active allegiance of the large and traditionally conservative Austrian rural population, as well as of certain urban classes, (2) the traditional alliance between the Church and the conservative Habsburg monarchy, which ruled Austria until 1916, and (3) the considerable wealth of the Church in agricultural and forest land as well as in money. The increasing strength of liberal and socialistic movements in Austria during the past seventy years has produced important changes in the Church's political tactics, but thus far has strengthened rather than weakened its basic conservatism.

Under the new conditions that will exist in Austria after the war, it is not at all impossible that the Church may modify its attitude toward political and social problems and movements. While it is unlikely to abandon its traditional hostility to communist ideologies and practices, the Church may well feel that its past conservatism is unsuited to prevailing conditions. A strong Catholic democratic and "leftist" current existed in Austria before 1934 and might provide the basis for a change in the position of the Church.

Even if the Church in Austria embarks on a new course, however, its fundamental aim will undoubtedly be the traditional one of maintaining and enhancing its own position in Austrian life. Tradition remains a most important element in the life of the Church, and will unquestionably exert a powerful influence over its future course. The future of the Church in Austria is connected by innumerable threads to its past under the Habsburg Monarchy, the Republic, the Fatherland Front dictatorship, and the Nazis. This discussion, therefore, adopts the historical approach as a basis on which to assess the probable attitude and action of the Austrian Church with respect to its basic problems after the war.

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

A. Statistical Data

Austria is an almost entirely Catholic country, at least in terms of denominational statistics. The last Austrian census of 1934, covering a total population of about 6,700,000, showed 90.5 percent of the population to be Catholic as against 4.4 percent Protestant. A most recent statement is that of May 1939, a little more than a year after the Nazi invasion. It shows a total population of almost 6,900,000 with the religious distribution as follows:

	Percent
Catholics	88.8
Protestants	5.1
Other denominations, including non-Christian religions	1.9
Theists ("Gottglaubige")	3.4
Atheists and non-classified	0.8

It is apparent that since 1934 the Catholic Church had lost a small part of its membership: a few Catholics turned Protestant[1] while the greater part chose the non-committal name of "Gottglaubige," a category invented for propaganda purposes in Nazi Germany. During the last five years the figures have probably exhibited further changes under Nazi pressure, but the result will not be very different from the former one.

In the evaluation of these general data it is necessary to keep in mind the difference between the capital, Vienna, and rival Austria. The ratio of Catholics (78.3 percent) Protestants (7.2 percent) and Other Denominations (6.0)[2] for

1. In 1934 the Protestants amounted to only 4.3 percent. The increase might be explained partly by conversions (see below p. 62), partly by the number of Reichsdeutsche Nazi functionaries taking up residence in Austria.
2. Included in this category were 82,000 Jews, in contrast to the 176,000 recorded in 1934.

Table I. RELIGIOUS STATISTICS OF AUSTRIA, 1939

Reichsgaue	Total population	Roman Catholics		Protestants		Other denominations		Theists ("Gottgläubige")		Atheists and non-classified	
		Number	% of population	Number	% of population	Number	% of population	Number	% of population	Number	% of population
Kärnten	439,721	390,183	88.7	35,778	8.2	903	0.2	11,460	2.6	1,397	0.3
Niederdonau	1,671,458	1,591,054	95.2	51,890	3.1	4,744	0.3	18,254	1.1	5,516	0.3
Oberdonau	1,018,721	964,070	94.6	34,775	3.4	2,468	0.2	14,773	1.5	2,635	0.3
Salzburg	253,618	234,161	92.3	7,996	3.2	1,385	0.6	9,220	3.6	856	0.3
Steiermark	1,107,039	972,884	87.9	71,926	6.5	3,621	0.3	53,728	4.9	4,880	0.4
Tirol-Vorarlberg	478,292	459,703	96.1	10,313	2.2	633	0.1	6,700	1.4	943	0.2
Wien	1,912,608	1,498,060	78.3	136,698	7.2	113,875	6.0	122,894	6.4	41,081	2.1
Total	6,881,457	6,110,115	88.8	349,376	5.1	127,629	1.9	237,029	3.4	57,308	0.8

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Vienna in 1939, has no parallel in the other Länder (now: Reichsgaue).[1] Only Kärnten (Carinthia) and Steiermark (Styria) had less than 90 percent Catholics and more than 3.4 percent Protestants.

In estimating the real strength of the Church, furthermore, the statistical evidence needs considerable qualification. Among the 6,100,000 Roman Catholics there are, of course, a considerable number of non-practicing church members, the so-called "baptismal-certificate Catholics" (Taufscheinkatholiken). Their number is especially high in Vienna, where a few years ago only one-fifth of the population attended services regularly. On the other hand, in many rural districts almost the entire membership of the Church is active. Tirol and Vorarlberg, which have the highest percentage of Catholics and the lowest of Protestants and other groups, also reveal the greatest regularity of church attendance.

B. Territorial Organization

The territory of the Austrian Church is now identical with that of the seven Austrian Reichsgaue. There are no longer any overlappings with neighboring states.[2] The whole territory is divided into the two church provinces of Vienna and Salzburg and, independent of them and immediately under the authority of the Holy See, the two Apostolic Administratures of Innsbruck-Feldkirch in the west and Burgenland in the east. The Archbishop of Vienna has the

1. The Austrian Republic had nine Länder. The figure was reduced to seven Reichsgaue by the unification of Tirol and Vorarlberg and the partition of Burgenland between Niederoesterreich and Steiermark.
2. The districts of Krummau, Kaplitz, Gratzen, and Neubistritz, which formerly belonged to Czechoslovakia and were annexed by the Germans and incorporated into the "Ostmark" territory, were transferred from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Budweis (Czechoslovakia) to that of Linz (Krummau, Kaplitz) and St. Poelten (Gratzen, Neubistritz) in 1940.

Bishops of St. Poelten and Linz as suffragans,[1] the Prince-Archbishop[2] of Salzburg has those of Gurk (Kärnten, residence: Klagenfurt) and Seckau (Steiermark, residence: Graz). The Archbishop of Salzburg occupies the position of a Primate, which is, however, a purely honorary post without administrative powers.

C. The Clergy

The number of secular priests is between 4,000 and 5,000 (4,684 in 1934). A great number of parishes, however, are "incorporated" with monasteries which appoint priest-members of their orders for parish work. The famous Schottenkloster of Vienna, for instance, took care of eighteen parishes in the city and its vicinity; the monastery of Melk administered to twenty-nine. Thus, the monastic clergy was in closer contact with the secular world than in other countries in which the system of "incorporation" does not exist.

The monasteries also played an important part in the field of education. The classical secondary schools (Gymnasiums) connected with the Benedictine monasteries in Vienna (the Schotten), and in Kremsmünster, Seitenstetten, and Melk enjoyed a reputation as schools of a rather liberal character. A more strictly ecclesiastical spirit dominated the Gymnasiums run by the Jesuits at Feldkirch and Kalksburg, which were traditionally preferred by the Catholic nobility.

1. "Suffragan," in the language of the Roman Catholic Church, means a bishop in relation to his archbishop, not an assistant bishop as in Anglican usage.
2. The title of Prince still carried by some of the Austrian bishops is of traditional character only and has neither political nor ecclesiastical significance. Following an unbroken tradition, the Archbishop of Vienna is always promoted to a cardinalship.

The Stifte (foundations)[1] of the Augustinian Canons at St. Florian and Klosterneuburg, the Cistercian monastery of of Heiligenkreuz, the Premonstratensian Stift of Wilten, and some others were seats of theological learning. Many of these institutes, old and well-equipped with libraries, archives, and collections, carried on with reduced vigor the scientific traditions established by their orders in former centuries. Many of the clerical "intelligentsia" of Austria were to be found in these old centers of learning.

The monastic clergy of all descriptions is more numerous than the secular priesthood. The census of 1934 enumerated 11,768 monks and nuns, including the members of spiritual congregations working outside of their convents or settlements (e.g. Sisters of Mercy). In all the "Church personnel" represents about one-fourth of one percent of the population.

The following table gives the distribution of clergy among the individual Länder according to the census of 1934.

Table II. AUSTRIAN CLERGY, 1934

Länder	All clergy	Of which ordained priests[a]
Kärnten	1,112	455
Nieder-Oesterreich (Niederdonau)	4,511	1,187
Ober-Oesterreich (Oberdonau)	3,028	734
Salzburg	1,482	318
Steiermark	2,639	702
Tirol-Vorarlberg	1,195	740
Vienna	4,349	375
Burgenland (now divided between Steiermark and Niederdonau	421	173
Total	18,737	4,684

a Twenty percent of the priests were over 60 years of age.

1. See Appendix III.

The property of the Church prior to the Anschluss was considerable, though by no means so great as was asserted in anti-clerical circles. A reasonable estimate attributes to Church ownership 3 1/2 percent of the agricultural and 5 percent of the forest land in Austria. Thus, of a total of 4,336,000 hectares of agricultural land, the Church owned about 151,660, while of a total of 3,138,000 hectares of forest land, the Church owned some 166,900. In the aggregate the Church held approximately 318,560 hectares of both types of land out of a total of 7,474,000.

III. CHURCH AND POLITICS IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE

A. Church and State

During the century preceding the Nazi occupation, the Catholic Church enjoyed a more comfortable existence in Austria than in any other European country. Although the Emperor Joseph II (1765-1790) had endeavored to put the Church under the strict supervision of state authority, the effects of his policy had faded out by 1848. Under Emperor Franz Joseph I (1848-1916) the policy of subordination of the Church to the state was superseded by an alliance between them.

From the accession of Franz Joseph until 1938 the Austrian Church never faced a serious crisis. It did not go through the hardships of a Prussian Kulturkampf; the conflict between the Austrian Government and the Church in the 1870's, which was also called a Kulturkampf, never went to the extremes reached by the struggle in Germany. The Church did not have to suffer under a policy of "laicism" or "secularism" as in France. Nor did the overthrow of the monarchy in 1918 in any way endanger its position as happened in Spain. On the contrary the Church played a leading part in Austrian politics under the Republic.

For more than a century preceding the Anschluss of 1938, the Austrian Church always co-operated with, or worked for, the ruling power in the state in return for concessions in the sphere of its own particular interests. It was the willing collaborator of absolutism after 1848 and the reliable pillar of the monarchy during Franz Joseph's long reign; it backed the powerful agitation of Christian Socialism under Lueger in the late nineteenth century, and the interests of big business, in conformity with Seipel's political ideas in the twentieth; it was the standard bearer

of Dollfuss's dictatorship.

The Church consistently avoided conflict with the state, and thus survived with little difficulty such manifestations of anti-clerical sentiment as the laws of May 1874, which enforced restrictions on the Church. These laws made it possible for the government to veto the appointments of clergy, to levy progressive taxes on prebends and monasteries, etc. In the long run, however, the Church found advantage in its moderate attitude, for the government applied the laws in a mild way, and the alliance of Throne and Altar continued working to the benefit of both partners.

Of equally slight affect on the Church's position was the so-called "Los von Rom" ("away from Rome") movement, started in the 1890's by Georg von Schönerer (a forerunner of Hitler). Directed simultaneously against the Habsburg State and the Catholic Church, and favoring the Anschluss to the Protestant Germany of the Hohenzollerns, the movement had a very limited success. In seventeen years no more than seventy-five thousand persons left the Catholic Church. At the same time, Schönerer's activities led to the foundation of vigouous Catholic organizations for defense and attack, including the Societies of St. Raphael and St. Boniface and the Catholic School Association. In associations of this kind the Catholic laity was trained, under clerical guidance, for the kind of social and political activity which in the next generation was to be organized on a broader basis in either the Volksbund or the Catholic Action.

B. Clergy and People

During this same period of Franz Joseph's reign the Catholic world -- clergy and laymen -- assumed the general characteristics which continue to distinguish it today. The rank and file of the clergy was simple and pious, and closely connected with the peasant and artisan milieu from which most of them came.

They were proud of their priestly dignity, but were neither intolerant nor fanatic. Their intellectual standard was not high, nor was the orbit of their interests broad; some specialized in local history, cared for local monuments, or wrote poetry in the popular vein. It was only the rise of socialism that put them face to face with modern social problems and drew them into a more active life.

Their influence on the life of the congregations was slight, except perhaps in Tirol which conserved an older type of religious life. For the masses, especially the rural population, Catholicism was a matter of course, an integral part of everyday life; but it was the splendor of the service and its artistic quality, even more than the properly religious aspects of Catholicism, that gave the Church its hold on the Austrian mind. Regular attendance at Church service was part of the mode of rural life; the urban population was far less regular in its observances. The average Vienna family attended Church when it felt like it, and of course had religious ceremonies at weddings and burials. Few persons, however, accepted the strict attitude of the Church toward divorce. The influence of the priest on the private life of the family was rarely countenanced. Confession was unpopular. Although individuals were devout, the mass of the people preferred a moderate form of religion which did not interfere with their daily lives. Religious fanaticism was almost unknown in Austria.

In certain strata of the population an outright anti-clericalism [1] made itself felt, partly as a heritage

1. The word, often used in political discussion, does not necessarily mean a hostile attitude toward religion; it signifies rather the tendency to restrict the clergy to their spiritual duties and to keep them out of politics and the control of cultural life.

from the age of Joseph II, but more as a consequence of the Concordat of 1855, which had aroused a great deal of bitterness among the educated classes. The Concordat gave the Church far-reaching powers in the fields of education and matrimonial law and favored the Jesuit Order, which was disliked by European liberals in the nineteenth century. The older Austrian liberalism (about 1866 to 1900) was thoroughly anti-clerical, an attitude shared by Schönerer's Pan-German movement and by the Social Democrats. It is significant, however, that among these elements, too, fanaticism did not exist. The personal friendship between Engelbert Pernerstorfer, a Social Democratic leader, and the Benedictine Father Blaha, one of the most respected professors at the Schottenkloster Gymnasium in Vienna, was characteristic.

C. The Church and Political Catholicism

Political Catholicism, or the direct participation of Catholics, as such, in political life, was not created by the Church. It originated in a lower middle-class movement which won the Church as an ally. Only in the last years before the first World War did the Christian Social Party, the instrument of political Catholicism assume the role of a Church party in parliament.

The Christian Social Party [1] was founded by Karl Lueger (1844-1910, Lord Mayor of Vienna, 1897-1910), one of the most successful politicians in Austrian history. During the 1880's Lueger came to the fore as the leader of a "little man's" opposition against the Viennese city administration, which had long been dominated by the wealthy upper middle classes, particularly the property and estate

1. The German name is Christlich-Soziale Partei, not Sozialistische.

owners. Because many of this group were Jews, Lueger made anti-Semitism a central plank in his platform.

Catholic religion was originally not a concern of Lueger's party. For tactical reasons, however, it adopted the political creed of a Catholic philosopher and sociologist, Karl Freiherr von Vogelsang (1818-1890), a convert from Northern Germany. Since Vogelsang was in opposition to the same forces Lueger fought, he could serve as an ally. Deeply religious, a believer in the political and economic principles of medieval Christian philosophy, Vogelsang condemned the omnipotence of the modern state and the capitalistic system of free enterprise and profit-making, and advocated a social organization resting on the co-operation of self-administering stände (guilds, vocational groups).

Like anti-Semitism, Christian principles were useful tools in the hands of Lueger and his lieutenants. A Catholic program had the special value of interesting the lower clergy in the Party; and the clergy in turn could help win over the rural population. Thus the village priest made his entry into politics. Consciously or unconsciously in the service of an urban middle-class party, he broke the influence of the old conservatives in the countryside. In 1907, when Austria introduced the general franchise, the Conservative Party gave up and merged with Lueger's Christian Socials.

The Church welcomed the help of the Christian Social Party. Its anti-liberal and anti-Marxist program appealed to believers in Catholic social principles. Its anti-Semitism was not resented by the average clergy, although some of the clerical intelligentsia regarded it as something "for the gutter" (Seipel). The Church also

approved the Party's loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy, seeing in it a counterbalance to the pan-Germanism of the Schönerer group. Lueger himself, neither unbeliever nor fanatic, found it advisable to stress the Catholic character of his municipal administration: city employees were expected to attend mass; cooperation was sought with Catholic social workers; public festivals were marked by colorful Church ceremonies.

Although the Christian Social Party thus cooperated with the Church, Lueger, saw to it that the command rested always with him. The Church remained a junior member of the partnership. The Party insisted that it was basically economic, not denominational in character. A biographer of Lueger wrote: "The Christian Socials never accepted the commands for their political actions from Rome. They have an understanding for the position of the clergy in the life of the peoples. But they never submitted to the dictation of the bishops." [1]

In its own field, however, the Church made progress during these years. For extra-parliamentary activity the Katholischer Volksbund für Oesterreich (Austrian Catholic People's Union) was founded in 1909. It was modelled on the successful German Volksverein für das Katholische Deutschland (People's Association for Catholic Germany), an institution "for the enlightenment of the Catholic people by the spoken and the printed word, for education, and for intellectual and economic betterment." The Church also began to make a more serious effort to reach the masses by way of meetings, night schools, lending libraries, and courses of various kinds.

Simultaneously, the social message of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical Rerum novarum (1891) began to influence the life of

1. Stauracz, Franz, Karl Lueger. (Vienna 1907). p. 239.

the Austrian Church. The Archbishops of Vienna, Cardinal Gruscha (1890-1911), and his successor, Cardinal Piffl (1912-1932), the "People's Bishop," emphasized the social aspect of their office, as protectors of Catholic associations of journeymen, Catholic youth organizations, etc. Home mission work was expounded. The Catholic press increased in importance, thanks to the support of the Piusverein founded in 1905. The country priest became the local representative of this and other nation-wide organizations and thus embarked on new activities which laid the foundations for the construction of a Catholic political movement.

Meanwhile the traditional good relations between Church and Crown remained unchanged. It was significant that the Eucharistic Congress, the Catholics' international meeting, held in Vienna in 1912, culminated in an imposing ovation for the old Emperor Franz Joseph.

Despite the great gains made by the Church in this period, however, the main goal was not achieved. The old enemy, Austrian liberalism, was as good as dead, but a new and stronger foe, Social Democracy, was threatening. In spite of all endeavors the Church did not succeed in winning over the urban working class. The Christian trade unions, founded in the 1890's under the lead of Leopold Kunschak, remained insignificant in comparison with the Socialist unions; the Social Democrats' cultural organizations attracted thousands who had remained indifferent to those of the Church.

The parliamentary representation of Catholicism also suffered a setback after Lueger's death.
Prince Aloys Liechtenstein (1846-1920), Lueger's successor in the leadership of the Christian Social Party, was a

skilled polemicist in parliament, but he lacked Lueger's popular appeal. The Party entered the last parliamentary period before the war (1911-1914) with a reduced number of seats.

IV. CHURCH AND POLITICS IN THE REPUBLIC (1919-1933)

A. Legal Status

The destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 and the temporary rise of Austrian Social Democracy to a dominating position in the new republic constituted a serious reverse for both the Church and the Christian Social Party. They therefore bent their efforts to regaining their political position.

The end of the Catholic Habsburg dynasty deprived the Church of the protection and favor which it had enjoyed for centuries. The general impoverishment of the country, the destruction of the currency, the shrinking of rental revenue hit the Church, its monasteries and ecclesiastical institutes as hard as they did any other organization.

Anti-ecclesiastical tendencies were fostered by the Social Democrats. The recognition of freemasonry, which had had no official standing in old Austria, and the admission of cremation were felt as threats to the Catholic way of life.

The new state interfered more than the monarchy with canonical marriage law. Agitation for individual separation from the Church was widespread, and met with more success than in the Schönerer period: from 1919 to 1927 about 120,000 people left the Church.

These developments, however, did not in fact mean serious danger to the Church, despite its conservative preferences. Even the Social Democratic government, in the two years of its ascendancy (1919-1920), enacted no really radical measures against the Church. The Church's legal position remained essentially unchanged. The old imperial laws which guaranteed the "freedom" of religion and Church, and regulated

the relations between Church and State, remained valid.[1] The republic no longer claimed the right to control ecclesiastical appointments as the Crown had done. An oath to the head of State was no longer required from the bishops. The everyday life of the Church went on as before.

B. The Church and Political Catholicism

In 1920 the Christian Social Party won a plurality over the Social Democrats and became the strongest party in Parliament.[2] Social Democratic ascendancy was, and thereafter remained, restricted to the city of Vienna; central government came into the hands of the Christian Socials and remained with them till the end of the Republic.

The political attitude of the Church during the years of the republic was one of grudging compromise. Sincere democrats and republicans, like Prelate Hauser (1866-1927), Landeshauptmann of Upper Austria in 1908-1918, and second president of the National Assembly of the Austrian Republic in 1918-1919, were rare exceptions among the clergy; the majority remained monarchist at heart, although realizing that a legitimist restoration was impossible. The Christian Social Party in which the clergy was always represented by a few members, still claimed to be left of center, but in fact became more bourgeois and capitalistic in its outlook than ever before. With the struggle against socialism as its foremost task, the Party was willing to accept the backing even of Jews and non-believers.

1. Especially the Staatsgrundgesetz of 21 December 1867, articles 14 and 15; confirmed by the constitution of 1920, article 149. See Hussarek's article in Hudal, Alois, Der Katholizismus in Oesterreich (Innsbruck 1931), p. 27.
2. See accompanying chart.

Table III. DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS IN THE AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT

Party	1919	1920	1923	1927	1930
Social Democrats	72	66	68	71	72
Christian Socials	69	82	81	73	66
Pan-Germans (Grossdeutsche)	26	22	11	12	--
Landbund (anti-clerical, agrarian)	--	4	5	9	--
Nationaler Wirtschaftsblock (Pan-Germans and Landbund)	--	--	--	--	19
Heimatblock (Fascist)	--	--	--	--	8
Others	3	1	--	--	--

The direct influence of the Church in political life was strengthened by the rise of Prelate Ignaz Seipel (1876-1932) from the ranks of the clergy in Parliament. Seipel became the leader of the Christian Social parliamentary groups in 1921, and was Chancellor for five out of the fifteen years of the Republic's life (1922-1924; 1926-1929). Even when not in office, Seipel was the "power behind the throne." A statesman of no mean qualities, adroit and successful in international politics, he still remained a loyal Churchman. His acceptance of constitutional democracy was always conditional.

Seipel's ideas were those of Vogelsang: a Christian, church-controlled society organized in vocational groups (Stände) instead of political parties. He appears to have been instrumental, as a consultant, in introducing these ideas into Pius XI's epoch-making encyclical Quadragesimo anno of 1931, though he did not live to see their incorporation in the Austrian constitution of 1934. In Seipel's hands, however, the concept of Stände had changed its meaning: instead of protecting the crafts and the peasantry, and excluding the bank and the stock exchange from political influence as Vogelsang wanted them to do, the Stände were to become instruments to destroy the socialists. Opposition to socialism made Seipel the ally of big business, industry, and the banks, and led him to cooperate with Pan-Germanists, and to favor the incipient Austro-fascist movement. He inspired Catholic policy with a fighting spirit and a hatred of its enemies hitherto unknown.[1] The hierarchy, under the spell of his strong personality, generally supported his policy.

Political journals like Das Neue Reich and Schönere Zukunft, largely relying on clerical contributors, reflected an anti-democratic spirit; under the impact of Mussolini's

1. Borkenau, Franz, Austria and After, (London, 1938) p. 226.

success they came to advocate more or less clearly the establishment of an authoritarian regime in Austria. The so-called "left-wing" of the Party especially the Christian Labor Movement, was much too weak[1] to wield any influence against this proto-Fascist tendency. Among the younger Catholic lay intelligentsia a small minority favored collaboration with progressive forces, were but the majority were as conservative, anti-liberal, anti-socialist, and monarchist as the clergy. Even among those clergymen who had hailed the revolution in 1918, most were now obedient members of the Party, awed by Seipel's personality and opposed to any form of socialism. They were no longer allowed to cooperate in organizations not controlled by the Church. A priest who did not follow the Christian Social Party stood little chance of ecclesiastical promotion. During elections pastoral letters and sermons openly favored Seipel's party, and the priest who dared to criticize was quickly silenced. The banners of the Fascist Home Guard formations (Heimwehren) were consecrated by the clergy.[2]

Table IV. MEMBERSHIP IN CATHOLIC AND FREE (MARXIST) TRADE UNION, 1919-1930

Year	Christian trade unions	Free trade unions
	(membership in thousands)	
1919	20	300
1921	80	1,000
1924	80	830
1927	80	770
1929	100	740
1930	110	650

Political Catholicism developed under the republic to even greater strength than under the empire. Catholic Action, the movement initiated by Pius XI in 1922 with the

1. See accompanying chart.
2. Anonymous, Alarmruf aus Oesterreich (Vienna, 1930), p. 49.

aim of integrating all Catholic organizations and activating the lay element for the social tasks of the Church ("lay apostolate"), contributed toward strengthening the Catholic conscience and giving new responsibilities to clergy and laity alike. In Austria Catholic Action was organized in 1927 through directives issued by the episcopate, and led to the creation of a united Christian-Social front under ecclesiastic guidance. Its guiding principle was defense and attack against socialism and preparation for the allegedly inevitable struggle between Christian and socialistic ideologies.

There is a warlike ring in the Catholic pamphlets of this period.[1] The Church, it was declared, is not only entitled to have a hearing in politics; it is her duty to enter actively into political life. The spirit of Liberalism and its outgrowth, socialism, which permeates the modern state, is the enemy: i.e., the idea of state omnipotence which subordinates the Church to state authority. It was averred that the Church has inalienable, God-given rights together with the state in the fields of education, matrimonial law, criminal law, and others; encroachments of the state on the Church's spheres were to be repulsed. The Church was to see to it that only such state laws were enacted as were in harmony with the Divine Law. Therefore, the Party was called upon to keep close contact with the episcopate and, where circumstances required it, to <u>accept directives</u> from them. The Party members were also to prove themselves convinced and eager Catholics in private life. The Party, it was said, can and sometimes has to make the compromises and concessions in parliamentary routine, which

1. The statements following are paraphrased from an article by Prelate Dr. Aemilian Schoepfer, "<u>Katholizismus und Politik</u>" in: Hudal, A. <u>Der Katholizismus in Oesterreich</u> (Innsbruck, 1931), p. 436-456. Schoepfer (d. 1936) was a member of the Christian Social Party in Parliament for thirty years; he was influential in Catholic Action in his capacity as president of a great Catholic publishing house.

the Church cannot do.

In this system the Party was no more than a tool of the Church -- a position which would have been impossible in the Lueger era. The Church now took the lead; the Party had to follow it. But, it was said, "there must not be the slightest shadow of a doubt that Catholicism and the Christian Social Party are not identical. Catholicism, Catholic life, the Catholic Action must not be deformed by politics. For this would mean not to influence politics, but to be influenced by it .... The Catholic Action must aim at the re-Christianization of society, must rebuild, within the framework of little Austria, the realm of Christ and the kingdom of Christ."[1]

1. Schoepfer, op. cit., p. 455 f.

V. THE CHURCH UNDER THE DOLLFUSS-SCHUSCHNIGG REGIME (1932-1938)

The words just quoted indicate the direction which Political Catholicism took to reach its goal a few years later under Dollfuss. When they were written, the Austrian "democratic" republic was already on its way out. The activities of party armies, the Catholic-fascist Heimwehr, the socialist Schutzbund, were supplanting constitutional methods of achieving political decisions. In 1933, parliament became technically deadlocked, and Engelbert Dollfuss, Seipel's successor, saw his way clear to realize his Party's ideal of the Christian corporate, totalitarian state. Authoritarian government began with the consent of the higher clergy, under the lead of the new Archbishop of Vienna, Dr. Innitzer. At Christmas 1933 the bishops endorsed the coup d'état by the decisive step of recalling the clerical members of the Christian Social Party. This was the death knell for the Party, which had outlived its usefulness to the Church. It is worth noting, incidentally, that the Pastoral Letter which announced the decision on the Christian Social Party also strongly condemned National Socialism for religious reasons.

"Austriam instaurare in Christo" ("To rebuild Austria in Christ") was the slogan which Dollfuss solemnly proclaimed, in imitation of Pope Pius X's famous "Omnia instaurare in Christo." The adoption of the language of the Church on this occasion had a symbolic meaning. It dramatized a pledge which was fulfilled by the Condordat with the Holy See (concluded in 1933, ratified in 1934) and the new constitution promulgated in 1934.

A. The Concordat

The Concordat regulating the relations between the Church and the Austrian state -- the second in Austrian history --

went far toward the fulfillment of the Church's most far-reaching aims. Some of its provisions merely duplicated the stipulations of concordats made by the Holy See with other modern states, such as Bavaria (1924), Poland (1924), Italy (1929), Prussia (1929), Baden (1932), etc. Others, however, were unusual in that they secured to the Church an unprecedented degree of influence in Austrian life.

One of the peculiar features of this concordat was the far-reaching extension of the validity of canon law within the sphere of state law. Article 2, for example, provided that ecclesiastical institutions having the status of legal persons in canon law should have the same status in civil law. Even more important was the concession made in regard to matrimony; marriages concluded according to canon law were to be valid in civil law. The state also recognized the competence of ecclesiastical authorities in all matters concerning the invalidity of a marriage or dispensation. Ecclesiastical and state courts (especially the papal court competent for matrimonial affairs, the Signatura Apostolica, and the Austrian Supreme Court) were required to collaborate (Article 7) in matrimonial cases. This stipulation regulated one of the most intricate problems of Austrian legislation very much along the lines desired by the Church, although the rights of the state were not entirely given up.[1]

In the appointment of ecclesiastical functionaries of all grades the Church was granted the fullest freedom possible:

1. Even a simple enumeration of the questions involved would transcend the space of this paper. The main difficulty was the conflict between canon law, which excludes divorce and only admits annulment of non-consumated marriages, and modern civil law, which acknowledges the inevitability of divorce under certain circumstances. In the Austrian Republic state authority had circumvented the difficulty by giving "dispenses" which allowed separated people to remarry. Under the concordat no dissolution of a marriage in which one partner was a Catholic could take place. The courts could grant only a separation (Trennung von Jisch und Bett) which, however, did not dissolve the marriage and did not allow a new marriage for either one of the partners. For full information see: Koestler, Rudolf, Das oesterreichische Konkordats -- Eherecht (Vienna, 1937).

the Pope appointed the bishops and, while the government could object to the person of the candidate, no veto of the Vatican decision was implied (Article 4). This provision appeared in the concordats with some of the German states, but, in contrast to the regulation made for the Reich, the appointee in Austria was not expected to take an oath of fealty to the state. Lower clergy were appointed by the bishops, again without the right of veto by the state (Article 11).

In the field of education the Church received very important guarantees (Article 6). Religious instruction was compulsory in all primary and secondary schools, its guidance and immediate supervision belonging to the Church. Bishops and their deputies could notify the state school authorities about Misstaende (undesirable features) in the religious and moral life of the pupils. Church authorities were also empowered to report on inadmissible influences in the school, especially violations of the religious feelings of the students and the state authority was required to remedy the defect. Under certain conditions schools founded or operated by Church organizations were entitled to subsidies from public funds. A rather unusual declaration was added to these stipulations: "These provisions are meant to further the Catholic school system and to create the conditions for the development of the public Catholic-denominational school." This proviso held out the promise of even greater influence for the Church in the future.

The state further guaranteed the protection of Catholic youth organizations, and it was provided that the press would not be subject to any limitation in the defense of Catholic doctrines (Article 18, additional protocol). In the last Article (22) all state laws and ordinances conflicting with the concordat were abrogated, especially the May laws of 1874,

which granted certain controlling rights to the state.

The value of this concordat for the Church is self-evident, and it is easily understandable that the Church gladly backed a government which conceded so much. This backing even extended to silent acquiescence when Dollfuss secured his grip over the state through the annihilation, by force, of the Social Democratic Party. The clergy, high and low, spoke no word of disapproval when in February 1934 the government troops turned their artillery against the workmen's settlements in Vienna.

B. The Constitution of 1934

The defeat of the Socialists in this unequal fight, the disbanding of the City Council of Vienna, which was still the stronghold of the Socialists, and the government order of 12 February 1934, which dissolved the Social Democratic Party, removed the last impediments to the establishment of the "Christian State." A few weeks later (30 April) a new constitution was published. The formality of securing for this document the approval of parliament, i.e., of the non-socialist members of parliament, who were now reconvoked for a last short meeting, was of course of no significance.

The theoreticians of the Dollfuss regime contended that the constitution put into practice the principles of the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno. Actually it was a document unique in its mixture of the most heterogeneous elements -- an amalgam of theocratic ideas, fragments of old liberal traditions, Napoleonic techniques, fascistic principles, and Catholic sociological theories. Although many of the characteristic features of liberal constitutions were conserved (including a bill of rights stipulating freedom of conscience and religion, equality before the law, and the right of association and petition), its most signal

feature was the full authoritarian power of the government and the replacement of parliamentary institutions by councils representing the various Stände (Staatsrat, Bundeskulturrat, Bundeswirtschaftsrat, Länderrat, and a super-council called Bundestag), which were not based on general elections and wielded very little power.

The spirit of the constitution was apparent in such provisions as the article (Article 16) stipulating that public office should be accessible to all patriotic (vaterlandstreue) citizens, but without any legal definition of what constituted patriotism. Article 27 reads: "Nobody can be forced to carry out any Church ritual or to participate in Church festivals," but adds: "This clause does not apply to obligations arising from family authority, authority of education (Erziehungsgewalt) or any other authority established in law; and does not apply either to the obligations of attending Church activities for reasons of public service." It is clear that the exceptions supersede the principle.

The influence of Quadragesimo Anno was discernable only insofar as the Stände were concerned. On the more important point of authoritarian power the constitution merely followed the patterns of Mussolini's and Hitler's governmental systems. The result was an Austrian form of fascism. The ban on political parties, and their replacement by the one official "party," the Vaterländische (patriotic) Front,[1] was copied from Italy and Germany.

The Catholic Church received a privileged status under the new constitution, the preamble of which emphasized the concept of a "Christian, German, Federative State founded

1. Established as a corporation in public law by a special federal law of 1 May 1934, one day after the publication of the Constitution (Bundesgesetzblatt, 1934, pt. II, pp. 53 ff.)

on the corporative basis." While churches and religious communities of all descriptions were granted the same theoretical rights as in most other constitutions (Articles 27-29), the Catholic Church received special privileges. A supplementary clause to Article 30 provided generally that "the affairs of recognized churches are subject to special regulation, but that for the Catholic Church such a regulation is made on principle by agreement between the state and the Holy See."

A number of articles from the concordat were incorporated into the constitution and thus acquired the quality of basic state law (Article 30, Section 4). The most important of these articles concerned: the exercise of spiritual power; the right of legislation of the Church in its own sphere; the protection of clergy in fulfillment of their duties; the status of legal persons for those institutions which enjoy it under canon law; the recognition of ecclesiastical institutes for theological learning; the right of intervention of the Church in the appointment of professors of theology by the state; religious instruction in the schools and its supervision by the Church; the property of Church institutions; the freedom of organization and activities of Catholic associations; the promise of dutiful fulfillment of the state's financial obligations toward the Church.

Further, the recognized churches and religious communities were entitled to representation in the Bundeskulturrat (Article 47, Section 1) and in provincial and local bodies (Articles 108, Section 2; 127, Section 1; 140, Section 1). An additional law of 1935[1] gave them a permanent status in school boards. Although these regulations provided for proportionate treatment of all denominations, they actually strengthened the position of the Roman Catholic Church alone, since the percentage of other denominations

1. Bundesgesetzblatt, 1935, Vol. I, No. 90.

(10 percent all together) was too insignificant to give them any influence.

More important than the letter of the constitution was of course its practical application. The intentions of the Government were indicated by the fact that its first act after the enforcement of the constitution was the ratification of the concordat. Public servants, employees, and unemployed people were driven back into the Church by more or less veiled threats. The accompanying table highlights this development.

Table V. GAINS AND LOSSES OF CHURCHES AND GROUPS WITHOUT CHURCH AFFILIATION

1931 - 1934

	Catholic Church	Protestant Church	"Konfessionslose" (=non-affiliated)
1931	-5,823	+253	+5,548
1932	-5,097	+283	+4,935
1933	-3,082	+281	+3,020
1934	+30,510	+12,580	-50,666

Separation from the Catholic Church became a "political demonstration" liable to punishment. Transfer to the Protestant Church was interpreted as a demonstration in favor of Nazi Germany, whose relations with Austria were strained. Admission of atheism was considered tantamount to membership in one of the forbidden political movements, socialism, or communism. Appointment to key positions in the government was based on a personnel policy dominated by the fraternal bonds of the "CV" the union of Catholic student fraternities.

The clergy, high and low, backed the government, as was to be expected. Very few of the clergy in cities and villages had political ideas of their own. The vast majority accepted the official interpretation of the

establishment of an authoritarian regime and became as faithful members and propagandists of the Patriotic Front as they had been members and propagandists of the Christian Social Party. Chief among them was Cardinal Innitzer, who was strongly for Dollfuss. Bishop Pawlikowski of Seckau (Graz), an anti-republican of long standing, enthusiastically greeted the Austro-Fascist regime. Bishop Memelauer of St. Poelten, by his disinterest in politics, gave tacit assent to the government. The Party itself disbanded and almost its entire membership joined the newly created Vaterlaendische (patriotic) Front, the official and only party of the new state.

The only Catholic opposition to the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime in the four years of its existence came from the pan-German element among the clergy, who were convinced that Anschluss was inevitable and that a compromise between the Catholic Church and the Nazi system could be effected. The leading proponents of this view were Bishop Alois Hudal, rector of the Anima in Rome, and by Father Pfliegler, the founder and leader of the Austrian Catholic Youth Movement, who under the republic had advocated a policy well to the left of that of the Christian Social party.

VI. THE CHURCH UNDER THE NAZI REGIME

Although the Austrian Church strongly supported the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime in its opposition to Anschluss with Germany, it failed to offer the expected resistance to the Nazis once the union with Germany had been accomplished. Evidently hoping to safeguard its own position through timely acceptance of the new authorities, the Austrian clergy welcomed the Nazi conquerors with every appearance of enthusiasm. These demonstrations, however, failed to protect the Church from receiving the same treatment in Austria as in Germany.

A. Appeasement

In the critical four weeks preceding the Nazis' entry into Vienna (12 March 1938) the Austrian bishops backed the government and made statements favoring a "yes" vote in the plebiscite by which Schuschnigg hoped to save the independence of Austria. Immediately following the Nazi occupation of Vienna, however, the attitude of the Church was reversed. On 12 March Cardinal Innitzer published an appeal asking the Catholics of Vienna to "offer prayers of thanks ... for the bloodless course of the great political revolution," and ordered that all church bells be pealed for Hitler's triumphal entry on 13 March. A short interview between Hitler and Cardinal Innitzer on 15 March was followed by solemn statements of the Austrian episcopate expressing joy at the union of Austria with the Reich and asking a favorable vote in the forthcoming Nazi plebiscite.

Although the enthusiastic tone of the Austrian clergy was somewhat moderated following a brief visit by Cardinal Innitzer to the Vatican on 5 April, the policy of open acceptance of the new Nazi regime was not abandoned. Immediately after his return to Vienna Cardinal Innitzer, who had already begun to use the "Heil Hitler," "authorized"

the parish clergy of his archdiocese to fly the swastika flag on suitable occasions, and on the day of the plebiscite (10 April) he was seen at the polling place raising his hand in the Hitler salute. It soon became apparent that the Cardinal's appeasement policy had destroyed the possibility of any moral resistance to Nazism. The clergy, educated to follow the lead of the hierarchy, was led to believe that Hitler, in return for ecclesiastical approval, would allow the Church to keep its position.

The reasons behind the Austrian clergy's abrupt change of front have never been entirely clear.[1] Although it was suggested at the time that the Vatican might have recommended the new policy, both Cardinal Innitzer and the Vatican itself were at pains to dissociate the Vatican from any responsibility. While Cardinal Innitzer undoubtedly took the lead in striking out along the new line, it is apparent that he could not have acted as he did unless backed by the other bishops, who are not his subordinates but his equals in all but ceremonial respects. Basically, the submission of the Austrian Church seems to have been merely an attempt to do what the Church had been accustomed to do in the past: to submit to the ruling powers, for what were believed to be the best interests of the Church. The Austrian bishops were not moved by timidity or cowardice. They were perfectly aware of the disabilities of the Church in Germany, and hoped that the Austrian Church, by timely capitulation, would be able to escape them.

B. Persecution

The optimistic expectations of the hierarchy were soon dissipated. In a few months the restrictions which had been gradually imposed on the Church in Germany over a period of five years were applied to the Austrian Church all at once. Not one of the demands for which Innitzer had promised to make

1. Cf. Appendix IV.

a stand[1] was ever fulfilled. The hope that the concordat would be respected became illusory. Since one of its partners had deceased, it became void according to the principles of international law. As a part of the Reich, Austria came automatically under the Reich concordat of 1934, which was less advantageous for the Church and was, moreover, persistently violated by the Nazi government.

Under the Reich concordat the Austrian Church lost its most cherished privileges: the application of canon law to matrimony and its dominating position in education. The matrimonial legislation of the Reich, which made civil registration compulsory and basic and permitted divorce by civil courts, was introduced in Austria and aroused much bitterness among strict Catholics.

The Catholic school system was destroyed. When Innitzer, in June 1938, issued a pastoral letter on the duty of Catholic education, the Nazis reacted by closing down all Catholic seminaries. Public recognition and rights were withdrawn from all private schools in July 1938. Schools run by religious orders were closed down or laicized in the first months of the occupation.[2] Religious instruction in secular schools was curtailed.

Catholic teaching institutes were either closed, transformed into lay schools, or appropriated for use as barracks, youth hostels, offices, etc.[3] The blows fell heavily in various places. The institutes of the Jesuit Order were completely suppressed: the Gymnasiums at Feldkirch (Stella Matutina) and Kalksburg (near Vienna), which were considered to be

1. See Appendix V.
2. The total number of educational establishments treated in this way is given as 1375, with about 100,000 pupils.
3. Many cases are enumerated in The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich (London 1940).

educational strongholds of strict Catholicism, and the Theological Faculty (School of Divinity) of the University of Innsbruck, which had been in the hands of the Order for eighty years. With the Faculty went the "Canisianum," the college hostel for students of theology.

The Catholic newspapers were suppressed or, what comes to the same thing, "coordinated" with National Socialism. The Reichpost and the Linzer Volksblatt were published at first under their old titles, but with a changed spirit. In 1939 the Reichspost was suspended. The Salzburger Chronik, appearing since the Anschluss as the Salzburger Zeitung, disappeared as early as the summer of 1938. The Catholic publishing houses were closed or transformed by the authorities. Tyrolia, publishers in Innsbruck, center of the great press institute established by Mgr. Schoepfer, was liquidated in 1938; its printing office had already been taken over by the National Socialist Deutscher Alpenverlag.[1]

Parallel with these events went the dissolution of the Catholic associations, large and small. In June 1938 the influential "CV," the Catholic Students' Association, was disbanded in accordance with the Reich law which admitted no other students' unions than the National Socialist Studentenbund. In August the general organization of Austrian Catholics, the Katholischer Volksbund, went the same way, as did countless local and professional Catholic associations and youth organizations.

In contrast to the state pressure for conversions to the Catholic Church which was practiced under Dollfuss, the Nazis encouraged apostasy. No objection was made to transfers from the Catholic to the small Austrian Protestant Church, which already had a long record of Nazi sympathy. During the first four or five weeks of the occupation (March--April 1938) the following numbers of separations from the Catholic Church

1. The Persecution, etc., pp. 72-80.

were reported although their reliability cannot be checked:

Kärnten	11,000
Nieder-Oesterreich	9,000
Ober-Oesterreich	9,200
Salzburg	7,100
Steiermark	18,000
Tirol) Vorarlberg)	5,400
Burgenland	5,800
Wien	46,000

Such figures reflect not only Nazi pressure but also a reaction to the enforced religiosity of the Dollfuss - Schuschnigg era.

In addition to the loss in following the Church suffered material losses by confiscations and expropriations. The amount cannot be accurately estimated at the present time. It is fairly certain, however, that the material loss was highest among monastic institutions and religious congregations. The German Order of Knights, a noblemen's congregation carrying on the traditions of the famous military order of the Crusades, was suppressed and its property taken over by the state. A school at Mariazell directed by teaching nuns was confiscated and the rest home connected with it handed over to the Bund Deutscher Mädel (German Girls' Union). The abbeys of Goettweig Admont, St. Lambrecht, and Engelzell were appropriated, and, by order of District Leader Bürckel, the whole of the leased-out property of the foundation of Klosterneuburg, near Vienna, was taken over by the government. After May 1939 rents due from some nine thousand of its leaseholders were paid to the state, with the result that this foundation was deprived, without any kind of compensation, of a substantial part of its possessions. At about the same time the mission school of St. Ruprecht at Kreuzberg, near Bischofshofen (Salzburg), was converted into a Nazi headquarters. On this occasion a

number of anti-religious speeches were made in which it was declared that "this was no educational establishment for missionaries, but a most pernicious hotbed of open hostility to the state and the people.[1] These are but a few of the many known cases of confiscation.

The Nazi regime further disturbed the Church by introducing the German church tax system. The Church had been tax-exempt in Austria. Financial support for church personnel and administration was derived principally from the state and the local parish councils. This arrangement was fundamentally modified by a law of 1 May 1939 which cancelled the obligations devolving upon the state, the funds and foundations managed by it, and on parish councils, educational councils, and public patrons, to provide for the personnel and upkeep of the churches. In compensation the Church received the right to levy a church tax. All members of the Church who are of age are liable to the tax, and tax payment is required by law. Tax duty, however, ceases for persons who leave the Church. Moreover, the regulation is connected with a state control of church income and expenditure.[2] Strange and alarming as this new system was to the Austrian clergy, it does not seem to have meant "financial strangulation." It is even subject to question whether it meant a loss in actual cash. The churches in Germany, both Catholic and Protestant, have existed under this system for a long time. Only experience and comparison of the results of several years would permit the formation of an opinion as to whether the income of the Church has actually decreased.

More dangerous for the Church was the regulation of the stipends of the pastoral clergy and the professors of theology. Such emoluments could be paid only to persons who "prove themselves worthy of such provision by the state." Regional

1. The Persecution, etc., p. 46.
2. Ibid., pp. 54-57.

authorities were instructed to withhold stipends, pensions, and other payments from such of the clergy as "commit offenses against the law and order of the state."

The personal treatment meted out to the servants of the Church was different from what the bishops expected when they welcomed the invaders. In the very first days of the Anschluss searches were carried out in the "Ordinariates" (episcopal offices) of Vienna, Salzburg, and Graz. Cardinal Innitzer experienced an assault on his palace and temporary arrest in October 1938, and punishment of the attackers was overruled. Arbitrary arrests and even executions of clergymen have occurred in numerous cases. The precise figures are not known.

C. Disillusionment

1. The Clergy. Resistance has not been absent. Of the old hierarchy who had signed the declaration, some are said to have taken a stand against Nazism after the experiences of 1938. None of them, however, compares in straightforwardness with the leaders of the German episcopate, Cardinal Faulhaber, Count Galen, and Count Preysing. Only in the last year did an energetic opponent to Nazism appear in a prominent position. This person is Dr. Andreas Rohracher (born 1892), who, in 1943, succeeded Archbishop Waitz in the See of Salzburg. He is said to have converted many pro-Nazis by his impressive sermons. The same attitude characterizes Dr. Paul Rusch, titular Bishop of Lycopolis and Apostolic Administrator of Innsbruck-Feldkirch (acting bishop of Tirol and Vorarlberg, since 1938). The two men are popularly known as the "counter-Gauleiters" in their districts.

Concerning the attitude of the lower clergy there is little information. Some of the clergy appear to have earned respect by their conduct under persecution, especially in the rural communities. It has been reported that in spite

of great fear villagers have occasionally freed their rector from jail. Priests of the new generation, young men trained in the Catholic Youth Movement, have been described as popular and influential. The clergy are said to have retained their influence over a large part of the rural youth, although the former organizations (Burschenvereine, etc.) led by the local priests, have been suppressed.

No generalization is possible concerning the present political outlook of the Austrian clergy as a whole. Among the thousands of persons involved there is a great variety of political beliefs, and a reliable picture could be given only on the basis of an extensive individual analysis.[1] The following paragraphs aim only at presenting the broad political categories into which the majority of the Austrian clergy are believed to fall.

There is, first, a group of clergy, probably very large, which is not primarily interested in politics but consists of average "patriots" who survived the republic, the authoritarian government, and the Nazi period, and will probably acquiesce in any new set-up.[2] The second group comprises a considerable number of priests who are in more or less outspoken sympathy with the Nazi movement.[3] The bishops' policy at the beginning of the occupation is partly responsible for this attitude. An organization of priests, dedicated to co-operation between the Church and the Nazis, was founded in the very first months after the occupation and allegedly acquired several hundred members. In many cases, however, the approval of the Nazi regime was only short-lived.

A third group, of which Cardinal Innitzer is the most outstanding representative, consists of clergy who were once

1. Available data are presented in Appendix II.
2. See Appendix II: Fried, Seydl.
3. See Appendix II: Feichtinger, Jauner, Pirchner.

pro-Nazi and are now disappointed.[1] Whether Innitzer will be able to stay in office after the Nazis are out remains to be seen. The idea that the archbishop of Vienna could withdraw under the pressure of political necessities is unusual, but not as impossible as it seems. It has even been discussed among Christian Socials.

A great number of clergy are characterized in confidential reports as "decidedly anti-Nazi." It is not surprising to find a remarkably large number of members of the Benedictine Order in this class.[2] It is clear that the monks, who suffered more than other clerical groups under the arbitrary measures of the regime, should be especially opposed to Nazism. But the label "anti-Nazi," purely negative as it is, can cover every kind of political opinion. Among the enemies of Nazism there are not only persons more or less sympathetic with the ideas of tolerance, but also others who are hardly less fascist-minded than the Nazis, differing from them only in having backed the milder form of Austro-Fascism.[3]

2. The Lay Public. The general disappointment, engendered in the masses by the Nazi domination and the sufferings of the war, which is considered none of Austria's business, have, to a certain extent, changed the attitude of former adversaries of the Church. It is learned that relations between Social Democrats and Christian Socials become more friendly on occasion as the two groups tend to become allies in opposition to a common oppressor. The reconciliation, however, is not perfect. In industrial areas labor shows that it has not forgiven Catholicism for its refusal to co-operate before 1934;

1. See Appendix II: Bichlmayer, Dillesberger, Egger, Hudal, Innitzer, Mörzinger, Ober, Rudolf, Weingartner.
2. See Appendix II: Berger, Blaha, Eigel, Hantsch, Knappek, Michels, Platzer, Ortmayr, Rankl, Spitzer, Springer.
3. See Appendix II: Hundstorfer, Metzler, Wildenauer.

that it cannot forgive the Catholic attitude toward the repression of the workers' movement in February 1934, the abolition of democracy, and the introduction of fascism into Austria. In those provincial towns where there is a strong Social Democratic tinge, Social Democrat workers and members of the Catholic Youth Organizations of former days are said still to pass each other without a greeting, even though they have known each other for years.

Returns to the Church are said to have occurred more frequently during the past two or three years; but on the other hand there has been a decided trend away from the Church in Carinthia, Styria (always the stronghold of Austrian Nazism), and Vienna. Moreover, it is believed that a part of the young generation has been effectively Nazified and de-Christianized and is forever out of the reach of the Church.

Under these circumstances the policy of the clergy has been to stress those elements which tend to unite the enemies of Nazism and to ignore the differences. The Church, at present, does not preach against Social Democrats or other leftists. But this situation is rather a truce than a peace, and might change under other conditions.

VII. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

A. The Church's Political Role

As soon as the Nazi domination ends the Church will undoubtedly be ready to make a bid for the restoration of its position in Austria. The mode of action which the Church will adopt, and the concrete aims which it will seek to attain, will depend on a number of factors which cannot be accurately gauged at the present time.

The tactical position of the Austrian Church for the post-war period is not unfavorable. The rural population at large can be expected to back the Church, as it has done in the past. The Church can also count on outside support, moral and material, with the Vatican, necessarily interested in the restoration of the Catholic "bastion" in the East, taking the lead, and American Catholicism possibly extending a helping hand. The fear of bolshevism will perhaps win friends for the Austrian Church in some quarters from which support might not ordinarily be forthcoming.

On the other hand, the restoration of the Church is likely to encounter significant opposition in other quarters. As already pointed out, the Austrian Socialists have not forgiven the Church for its conduct during the Dollfuss period. Although at present, under the pressure of Nazi occupation, there is a certain amount of good will and co-operation between Catholics and Socialists, this situation may change as soon as the pressure disappears.

Moreover, the Church will have to face not only the Social Democrats but also the Communists. Communism, although its future potential weight in Austrian politics is uncertain, will clearly be a more influential factor than in the former Austrian republic. It is true that Communist policy recently has carefully avoided antagonizing

religious feelings, but there have been few indications of any slackening in the Church's traditional hostility to Communist theory and practice. Furthermore, there is a possibility, however slight, that a middle-class "liberal" group, which would also tend to be anti-clerical, may develop between Catholics and Socialists. The existence of these adverse currents will undoubtedly be taken into account by the Church in its choice of political objectives and tactics.

Opinions are divided as to how active the lower clergy will be in politics. It has been pointed out that after the war they will be occupied most of the time in the discharge of spiritual responsibilities; that their numbers have been reduced by death, military service, and a shortage of new priests; that the average age of the clergy is higher than before the war; that poor health is common among them. In rural Austria, on the other hand, the priest was usually the only person to whom the community looked for political guidance; the political power of the Church was derived in part from the ceaseless activities of the rural clergyman, and it is not likely that the Church will allow him to drop this traditional part of his work.

The higher clergy, the bishops and their vicars general, will be kept in politics by the very nature of their office, which makes them the representatives of the Church in its relation to the state. The number of these official leaders is small; [1] and some of the few bishops might be hampered to some extent by their political antecedents. The political leadership among the episcopate can hardly remain with Cardinal Innitzer, but is more likely to go to its younger members, who during the last years have achieved a strong popular appeal.

1. See Appendix I.

The expediency of reviving the Christian Social Party will certainly be discussed when circumstances allow it. In fact, it already is a subject of consideration in the Austrian Committees abroad. The possibility of strengthening the popular appeal of the party and broadening its base by including non-Catholics and some former Socialists has been suggested. The inclusion of Protestants would not mean an essential change, judging by the experiences of the German Center Party, which almost regularly had a few Protestant members and yet remained a Catholic party. The number of non-Catholics in Austria is so small that the effect of their representation in parliament would be insignificant. The concept of "former Socialists" in this connection seems rather vague. In practice only ex-Socialists whose religious feelings eventually got the better of their political convictions, would be willing to serve, and these would not differ from the original type of the Catholic representative.

It cannot be said, of course, in what sense the political situation of the post-war times will influence the construction of a revived party. The program might differ from what formerly was considered the political creed of the Christian Socials, the name of the party might be changed, but such a revived party would in any event remain the party of the Catholic Church.

B. The Church's Political Aims

The idea of Austrian independence, as embodied in the Moscow Declaration, will probably have the support of the Church as a whole and of most individual clergymen. The experiences of the Anschluss period were too disappointing, even for most of those who originally welcomed the "return to the Fatherland," to leave any sympathy for the idea of

a Greater Germany. The Pan-German tradition, which formerly had some followers even among the clergy, may perhaps survive in a few individuals, but they will hardly be able to influence the attitude of the Church as a whole.

Within the framework of independent Austria the Church may be expected to adopt whatever course of action it deems most promising from the standpoint of its own immediate and long-range interests. It is not likely to demand a return to the state of things which prevailed immediately before the Nazi occupation. Such a demand could not fail to arouse the bitter hostility of socialist and liberal groups both in Austria and abroad. Furthermore, even the higher clergy can scarcely consider the experiment of the "Church State" of 1934 to have been a success. Archbishop Waitz, a friend of the Dollfuss system, conceded ex post facto that the Christian State did not become Christian as quickly as had been hoped, and admitted that the corporative idea often served only as a cover for individual egotism. [1] Nor is the opposite idea of a separation of Church and State, which is said to enjoy some favor at present in the Austrian population and even among the clergy, likely to commend itself to the Church leaders. Such a solution would mean the disavowal of the whole history of the Austrian Church, and would conflict with the traditionally conservative attitudes of Austrian churchmen.

Despite its conservative preferences in the past, the Church will probably not make any decisive stand as regards the form of the future Austrian government. In the past the Church was automatically monarchist as long as the monarchy lasted. The republic was received with little sympathy; the Church, however, saw fit to accept the

1. Schönere Zukunft, 12 June 1938.

accomplished fact and did not oppose the republic. It accepted the authoritarian state with greater readiness, for obvious reasons. The Austrian Church as a whole, however, follows the general principle of the Catholic Church, which has no absolute preference as between monarchy and republic.

Individual members of the Austrian clergy still cherish monarchist tendencies. Although it is not known how many priests cling to the idea of a Habsburg restoration, Catholic clergymen have acted as agents of monarchist propaganda in recent years. The Pretender to the throne has made no attempt to hide his clerical connections. As far as evidence permits the formation of an opinion, however, the prospects of a restoration of the monarchy are very slight. It can be assumed that the majority of the clergy is conscious of this fact, and will acquiesce in any form of government which does not show outright hostility to coming to terms with the Church. As previously pointed out, the Church may even find it appropriate to abandon its conservative orientation and embark on a pro-democratic course as better suited to the new conditions.

In keeping with its stand on the form of government, the Church will not regard the question of the internal organization of the state as of first importance. Federalism or centralism will be equally acceptable. It is obvious that the regions of Austria will retain their specific character for a long time, whether they are half-independent, small federated states or provinces administered from the capital. In other words, the strong and somewhat narrow religiosity of Tirol and the religious indifference of Vienna will outlast the present period.

If the Church is unlikely to take a strong stand in regard to the constitutional forms of the future Austrian state, it will, on the other hand, be certain to exert itself where its own position and direct interests are concerned. First, it will certainly claim the restitution of its possessions lost to and under the Nazi regime. This claim may seem to be in line with simple justice. But in an impoverished nation undue haste in the announcement and fulfillment of such wishes might create new difficulties for the Church and furnish new impulses to anti-clericalism. It is to be expected, therefore, that these demands will be put forward with considerable moderation and with the exercise of much political tact on the part of Church leaders.

A more energetic attitude will probably be taken on a second point. The Church, and in this case not so much the Church in Austria as the Vatican, may well seek the revival of the 1933/34 Concordat, though conceding, perhaps, that some changes in its provisions may be appropriate. The problem from the Church's point of view is partly legal, partly political in character, and its solution depends on the forms and conditions under which Austrian independence is re-established. If the new Austria comes into existence as a continuation of the independent republic organized in 1918-1919, it will have to meet the international obligations of this state. Under such a postulate the Concordat would automatically regain its validity. But if Austria is allowed to organize itself as a new unit, as appears possible under the terms of the Moscow Declaration, relations between state and Church would become a subject for fresh negotiation between Rome and Vienna. In either case the Church may be expected to seek the widest attainable satisfaction of its strictly religious claims and of its related claims in the educational, matrimonial, and other fields.

Appendix I. THE AUSTRIAN BISHOPRICS IN 1944[1]

A. Church Province of Vienna

1. Archdiocese of Vienna

Archbishop (1932): Dr. Theodor Cardinal Innitzer

Weihbischof (Auxiliary Bishop, 1929), Vicar General and Dompropst (Provost of the Metropolitan Chapter): Dr. Franz Kamprath Domdechant (Dean of the Metropolitan Chapter): Wenzel Merinsky Apostolic Protonotary

Offiziel (Judge): Professor Franz Zehentbauer

2. Diocese of St. Poelten

Bishop (1927): Dr.Michael Memelauer

Vicar General and Dompropst: Prelate Karl Forstner

Domdechant: Prelate Michael Distelberger

Offiziel: Canon Josef Karas

3. Diocese of Linz

Bishop: vacant

Chapter Vicar (substitute of the bishop elected for the time of the vacancy) and Weihbischof: Dr. Josef Fliesser

Dompropst: Prelate Josef Kalda

Domdechant: Prelate Karl Schöfecker

Offiziel: Canon Florian Oberchristl

B. Church Province of Salzburg

1. Archdiocese of Salzburg

Prince-Archbishop (1943): Dr. Andreas Rohracher

Weihbischof and Dompropst: Dr. Johann Baptist Filzer

Domdechant: Prelate Jakob Obweger

Offiziel: Canon Karl Kronlachner

2. Diocese of Gurk (residence: Klagenfurt)

Prince-Bishop: vacant since 1939

Chapter Vicar: ?

Dompropst and Offiziel: Prelate Johann Baptist Unterluggauer

Domdechant: Prelate Josef Maier

3. Diocese of Seckau (residence: Graz)

Prince-Bishop (1927): Dr. Ferdinand Pawlikowski

1. For personal data see Appendix II.

Vicar General and Domdechant: Prelate Johann Siener

Dompropst: Dr. Franz Puchas

Offiziel: Prelate Dr. Johann Haring

C. Apostolic Administratures Immediately under the Authority of the Holy See

1. Burgenland

Apostolic Administrator: Dr. Theodor Cardinal Innitzer (see Vienna)

2. Innsbruck - Feldkirch

Apostolic Administrator (1938): Dr. Paul Rusch, titular Bishop of Lycopolis

Weihbischof and Vicar General for Vorarlberg: Franz Tschann, titular Bishop of Panium

Provicar for Tirol: Mgr. Dr. Carl Lampert

Appendix II. PERSONAL DATA CONCERNING AUSTRIAN CLERGY

This material was compiled from latest available sources of information, but is necessarily incomplete. The statements made are those obtained from available sources and reflect the views of those sources and not the OSS.

Abbreviations:
B.: born
Mgr.: Monsignore
0: Said to be not interested in politics
O.S.B.: Benedictine monk
S.J.: Jesuit priest
U.: nothing is known about political attitude since 1938.

ADAMER, Peter, D.D. Mgr.
Salzburg
B. 1890 near Salzburg. Professor of theology. "Had great difficulties with the Nazis."

ASCHAUER, Father
Vienna?
Privately mentioned as a liaison officer between the Free Austrian group in London and Austrian clergy.

BERGER, Willibald, O.S.B.
In USA
Formerly professor at the Schotten Gymnasium, Vienna, said to be "anti-Nazi."

BICHLMAYER, Georg, S.J.
Vienna?
B. 1890 One of the best-known Austrian members of the Society of Jesus. Good preacher, much interested in social questions. Is said to have taken part in the preparation of the Quadragesimo Anno. Contributed largely to the popularization of this enclyclical, his interpretation leading to some of the fundamental ideas of the constitution of 1934. Advocated, before the occupation, a conciliatory attitude toward the Nazis; afterwards he complained about the realities of the Nazi regime.

BLAHA, Vincenz, O.S.B., Ph.D., Hofrat
Vienna
B. about 1875. Ex-director of the Schotten Gymnasium. Scientist (mathematics, physics); well-known in Viennese society; a famous personality in Austrian cultural life. Christian Social, very tolerant, had socialist and Jewish friends. Said to be "anti-Nazi."

DILLERSBERGER, Josef, D.D.
Aigen bei Salzburg
B. 1897 in Kufstein (Tyrol). Professor of theology. Christian Social, later on Vaterländische (Patriotic) Front, but in close contact with pan-Germanism. Welcomed the Anschluss, but according to sources, was disappointed with the behavior of the Nazis.

Said to be personally honest and sincere; went secretly to Rome in order to make the Vatican intervene in behalf of Rehrl, the former governor of Salzburg, who was in a concentration camp. Disappointed in Nazism, but still pan-German.

DINGHAUSER, Father
Mentioned as Schuschnigg's confessor.

DITTRICH, Adelbert
Last known address: Vienna V, Kriehnberg 12
B. 1884 in Czechoslovakia. Retired professor of religion. Liberal Catholic, had conflicts with his superiors because of leanings to independence. Scholarly and "human." Said to be "anti-Nazi."

DOMANIG, Franz, D.D., Mgr.
Vienna IV, St. Elisabeth-Platz 9
B. about 1895 in South Tyrol. Parish priest at St. Elisabeth. According to sources, avoided taking sides in 1934-1938, although he was in close contact with leading men. Christian Social; said to be "anti-Nazi."

EGGER, Johann, member of the Order of the Salesians
Vienna, Vogelweidplatz 7
B. about 1890 in Niederoesterreich. Parish priest of the Seipel-Dollfuss Memorial Church. Not primarily interested in politics, yet eagerly followed the directions of his superiors in 1938 to come to good terms with the Nazis. Disappointed Nazi, according to sources.

EIGEL, Leopold, O.S.B., Ph.D.
Platt (Niederoesterreich)
B. about 1883 in Jihlava (Iglau Moravia). Up to 1938 professor of classics at the Schotten Gymnasium, Vienna; now priest of the incorporated parish of Platt. Said to be "anti-Nazi."

ENGELHART, Leopold
Vienna III, Keinergasse 37
B. 1892 in Vienna. 1927-1936, Cathedral preacher. 1933 Secretary General of the Catholic Action. Under the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime member of the Bundes-Kulturrat and the Bundestag. U.

ETTER, Daniel
Salzburg, Kapitelplatz 7
B. 1876 in Thalgau near Salzburg. Dompfarrer (parish priest of the Cathedral). 1909-1927, member of the Salzburg Landtag; 1912, chairman of the Salzburg press association; 1918-1922, Landesrat (member of the Salzburg provincial government); 1922-1927, member of the Bundesrat; Ehrenbürger (freeman) of nine communities around Salzburg. Christian Social. U.

FEICHTINGER, Franz, Mgr.
Vienna I, Stephansplatz 6
Canon of St. Stephen's; inspector of religious instruction in the archdiocese of Vienna. Most influential because of this position According to sources, Christian Social, later on Vaterländische Front; pan-German leanings; strongly anti-Semitic. One of the first men to compromise with the occupation regime. Nazi.

FILZER, Johannes, D.D., Weihbischof of Salzburg
Salzburg, Kapitelplatz 2
B. 1874 in Kitzbühel (Tirol). Formerly professor of theology. 1927, Weihbischof; provost of the Metropolitan Chapter. U.

FORSTNER, Karl
St. Poelten
Vicar general of the diocese of St. Poelten; provost of the Cathedral Chapter. Mentioned in December 1944 as a confidant of Otto of Habsburg. Said to have been in USA in 1944 (until Oct.).

FRIED, Jakob, Mgr.
Vienna I, Stephansplatz 6
B. 1885 in Eibestal (Niederoesterreich). According to sources: studied theology in Vienna. Active in social work. 1925, director general of the Volksbund der Katholiken; later on director of the Catholic Action in the archdiocese of Vienna; 1934, Canon at St. Stephen's, Vienna, and Papal House Prelate. Traveled widely; contributed to numerous Catholic papers; influential in Catholic life in Austria. Great organizing abilities. Retired from public life since 1938, exclusively concerned with his church functions. Recently reported to be in prison. U.

FRODEL, August, S.J.
Klagenfurt (Kärnten)
B. about 1890 in Vienna. According to sources: taught in Jesuit institutions; worked in the Typographia Vaticana, Rome; now professor at the Klagenfurt Seminary. One of the most influential members of Austrian clergy. Friend of social reforms and in contact with democratic-minded and liberal circles. When asked for advice during the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg period, he tried to influence the government toward reconciliation with Social Democrats. Is said to have been "one of the authors" of the Vatican broadcast against the Declaration of the bishops in April 1938 (see Appendix IV). Observer of events in Austria for his order? Said to be "anti-Nazi." Recently reported to be in prison.

HANDLOSS, Karl, Mgr.
Vienna, St. Stephen's
B. 1871 in Scharnstein (Oberoesterreich). 1927, Canon at St. Stephen's. Editor of Der Seelsorger (The Pastor). U.

HANTSCH, Hugo, O.S.B., Ph.D.
Melk (Niederoesterreich)
B. 1895 in Czechoslovakia. Was professor of Austrian history at the University of Graz; after occupation taken to the Dachau concentration camp. Upon release he returned to his monastery at Melk and was elected abbot. Said to have administrative ability and to be "anti-Nazi."

HOFBAUER, Max
Vienna XVIII, Bossigasse 48
B. 1895 in Vienna. Grandnephew of St. Clemens Maria Hofbauer and strongly influenced by the example of his canonized relative. Priest and teacher of theology; saintly and ascetic. Was confessor of the Cardinal Archbishop (Innitzer or his predecessor, Piffl?); worked for the Dollfuss regime. Under the Nazis forbidden to teach and reportedly sent to concentration camp. U.

HOLLNSTEINER, Johannes, D.D., Ph.D.
Vienna I, Habsburgergasse 7
B. 1895 in Linz. 1919, ordained priest. According to sources: formerly professor of Canon Law at the University of Vienna; president of the Metropolitan Court. Prolific author on Canon Law. Prominent as adviser of the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg government. Left the Church and married. Nazi.

HUDAL, Alois, D.D., titular Bishop of Ela
Rome, Via della Pace 20
B. 1885 in Graz. Rector of the Anima in Rome (Sta. Maria dell' Anima, one of the two papal seminaries for German-speaking students of theology). According to sources, not actually a member of the Austrian clergy, since in his office he is under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cologne; but he has always taken part in Austrian affairs. He is a productive writer (Der Katholizismus in Oesterreich /ed./, 1931; Rom, Christentum und deutsches Volk, 1935; Deutsches Volk und christliches Abendland, 1935; Die Grundlagen des National-Sozialismus, 1936; etc.). "Before and after the occupation he favored Nazism as strongly as he now disavows it. In 1944 he played a dubious role in the organization of Austrians in Rome. A political opportunist."

HUNDSTORFER, Rudolf Franz, O.S.B., D.D.
Kremsmünster (Oberoesterreich)
B. 1900 in Kremsmünster. Was professor of religion and sociology at the Gymnasium of the Kremsmünster monastery, member of town council. Intelligent, good speaker and organizer. Propaganda manager of the Vaterländische Front under Dollfuss-Schuschnigg. Christian Social; had difficulties with the Nazis.

INNITZER, Cardinal Theodor, D.D., Archbishop of Vienna
Vienna I, Erzbischöfliches Palais, Rotenturmstr. 2
B. 1875 in Weipert (Czechoslovakia). Studied theology in Vienna. 1902, ordained priest; 1908, lecturer at the University of Vienna; 1929-1930, Minister of Social Welfare; 1932, Archbishop; 1933, Cardinal. See Section VI, above, for his later activities. He is characterized as follows: "Average intelligence, weak will power, eager to comply with all established authorities. No broad educational background; rather shy in meeting people he does not know very well. Modest in private life; no sense of humor; sober, cautious in his attitude toward people, suspicious, bad judgment of people and of situations. Never achieved anything with his weak protests against encroachments of Nazi power; even in the last years he occasionally co-operated with the Nazi police for the persecution of hostile movements.

JAUNER, Johann
Vienna? (Address might be obtainable in the Paulanerkirche, Vienna IV, Paulanergasse 6)
B. about 1890 in Vienna. Now probably a parish priest in Vienna. According to sources: former Army officer, later on owner of a small industrial enterprise, priest since the late twenties. Up to 1938 secretary of the Intervention Office of the Catholic Action, a liaison agency between the Action and the Schuschnigg government. "Misused this position to make confidential material known to the Nazis; went to Germany and was received by Hitler. Engineered Cardinal Innitzer's visit to Hitler; was present at the interview. Speaks English fluently; served as a guide to British and American clergy who visited Vienna. Polite and persuasive manners. Is considered a potentially dangerous man. Fanatical Nazi."

KLOTZ, Petrus Karl, O.S.B., D.D., Ph.D.
Salzburg, Stift St. Peter
B. 1878 in Bozen (Bolzano). Traveled around the world 1912-1916 in the service of the Catholic press; visited USA in 1920 to collect money for starving children in Vienna. 1922, Abbot of St. Peter, 1928, Arch-Abbot. U.

KNAPPEK, Maurus, O.S.B.
Vienna
B. about 1890 in Moravia. As a student was member of the CV (see Sec.V, above). Former prior of the Schotten monastery in Vienna. Member of Christian Social Party. Said to have diplomatic talents; to be an able negotiator; to be most politically-minded of all the members of the Schotten monastery. Said to be "anti-Nazi."

MEMELAUER, Michael, D.D.
St. Poelten
B. 1874 in Hehenberg. 1897. ordained priest. 1927, Bishop of St. Poelten. Not prominent in public life; not even mentioned in the Austrian "Who's Who" of 1937. Interested in charity. O. U.

MESSNER, Johannes
England
B. 1891 in Schwaz (Tirol). Date of ordination unknown. Formerly professor of moral philosophy and Christian sociology at the University of Vienna; editor of the anti-democratic weekly Das Neue Reich; when this journal was combined with the authoritarian Schönere Zukunft, he became a leading contributor. Is said to have been an unofficial counsellor of the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg government. Refugee.

METZLER, Franz Gebhard, D.D., Mgr.
Salzburg
B. 1890 in Vorarlberg. Was professor of theology at Salzburg. According to sources, one of the best known and most influential members of the clergy in the Salzburg region. Interested in adult education; traveled widely in the western parts of Austria on lecture tours for the rural teachers' organizations. Is described as an "ambitious busybody." Christian Social, worked in close connection with the authorities of the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime. U.

MICHELS, Thomas A., O.S.B.
In USA
Formerly professor of theology at Salzburg. In a "Letter to the Editor" in the New York Times (16 September 1944) he put the responsibility for the loss of Austrian independence on "the Liberals." Monarchist sympathies. Said to be an "anti-Nazi."

MORZINGER, Johann, Prelate
Vienna I, Stephansplatz 3
B. 1869 in Imbach (Niederoesterreich). Bischöflicher Geistlicher Rat (Episcopal councillor), Apostolic Protonotary and Canon (honorary?) of the Cathedral of St. Poelten. According to sources editor of Das Kirchenblatt; formerly press chief of the archdiocese of Vienna. Christian Social; 1934-1938, a prominent member of the Vaterländische Front; Pan-German leanings; favored the Anschluss; did much for the acceptance of Nazi rule. He may have had a share in the Solemn Declaration of 1938; see Appendix IV. Later on he had troubles with the Nazis and was forced to cease publication of Das Kirchenblatt. Disappointed Nazi.

OBER, Josef
Address obtainable at St. Joseph's church "ob der Laimgrube,"
Vienna II, Windmühlgasse
B. about 1905 (Vienna?). Auxiliary priest (Vienna ?). According to sources, known for pugnacious qualities. Belonged to the Christian Social Party; always favored Anschluss. Strongly anti-Semitic. Sympathized with the Nazis even before the occupation; acted as their radio propagandist afterwards; "justified" Nazi racial theories

from the Scriptures. After half a year he told his friends how wrong and dangerous the Nazi ideology was and what criminals the Nazi leaders were. His Pan-German ideas, however, have survived this volte-face. Disappointed Nazi.

OHNMACHT, Franz, D.C., Geistlicher Rat
Linz, Langgasse 11a
B. 1893 in Raal (Oberoesterreich). 1929-1934, secretary of the Catholic Action; then made director general. According to sources, good organizer, more interested in practical problems than in ideology. Influential in the time of Dollfuss-Schuschnigg; hated by the Nazis; also had difficulties with the parties of the left.

ORTMAYR, Petrus, O.S.B., Ph. D.
Seitenstetten (Niederoesterreich)
B. 1878 in St. Marienkirchen (Oberoesterreich). 1910-1938, professor at the Gymnasium of the Seitenstetten monastery. Said to be scholarly, not politically-minded, "anti-Nazi."

PAWLIKOWSKI, Ferdinand, D.D., Prince-Bishop of Seckau-Graz.
Graz (Steiermark), Seckauer Ordinariat
B. 1877 in Vienna. Attended school in Trent (South Tirol); studied theology at Trent and Rome; 1903, ordained priest; held several high positions in the Army Chaplains' Corps during the first World War; 1918 substitute of the Army Bishop; after the war Heerespropst (title changed later to Militärvikar, chief of the Chaplains' Corps); 1927, auxiliary bishop of Seckau; same year prince-bishop; 1944, Papal Throne Assistant and count. Monarchist leanings; not a friend of the republic; much in favor with the authoritarian Dollfuss-Schuschnigg government.

PEICHL, Hermann, O.S.B., D.D.
Vienna
B. 1888 in Czechoslovakia. Abbot of the Schotten Monastery in Vienna. Christian Social. Is said "to have not been happy about the authoritarian course" of the Dollfuss government, but nevertheless accepted the distinctive appointment to membership in Dollfuss's Staatsrat (State Council). Said to be "anti-Nazi."

PETZ, Franz
Rosenthal (Steiermark)
B. 1906. Parish priest of St. Stephen's at Rosenthal. Was sentenced to two and a half years at hard labor for listening to enemy broadcasts and "speaking disloyally and spitefully about actions and institutions of the state." (January 1943) U.

PFLIEGLER, Michael
Last known address: Vienna XIX; Iglaseegasse 42 (1938)
B. 1891 in Guttenbrunn (Niederoesterreich). 1915, priest. Was professor of religion at a Gymnasium in Vienna (Grinzing) and lecturer at the University; might now be in pastoral work. According to sources, highly socially-minded, but emotional and easily influenced. Up to 1939 leader of what could be called the liberal wing of Catholicism in Austria, also leader of the Catholic Youth Movement Neuland. Although basically a democrat, he surprised his friends by declaring himself in favor of the new order in 1938. Pan-German rather than Nazi.

PIRCHNER, (Johann?)
Vienna
B. about 1890 in Moravia. Teacher of religion in one of the Vienna Junior High Schools. According to sources, South Tirolian background; German nationalist, strongly anti-Semitic.

Showed Nazi sympathies even before 1938. Probably identical with Prof. Johann "Bircher," who allegedly founded an association of pro-Nazi clergy. Nazi.

PLATZER, Joseph, O.S.B. LL.D.
Vienna
B. about 1894 in Steiermark. Financial administrator of the Schotten monastery and manager of its inn. According to sources, acquainted with numerous people of widely different social and political backgrounds; thorough knowledge of secular affairs, shrewd, matter-of-fact intelligence. Christian Social. Said to be "anti-Nazi."

RANKL, Richard, O.S.B., Ph. D.
Kremsmünster (Oberoesterreich)
B. about 1890 in Schlierbach (Oberoesterreich). 1920-1938, professor of mathematics at the Gymnasium of the Kremsmünster monastery. Said to be "anti-Nazi."

RAUCHEGGER, Bruno, O.S.B., Ph.D.
Seitenstetten (Niederoesterreich)
B. 1876 in Haag (Niederoesterreich). 1906-1938, professor of sciences at the Gymnasium of the Seitenstetten Monastery; 1936-1938, director (headmaster); member of town council. Had to resign from both offices after occupation. Said to be capable teacher and school administrator. U.

ROHRACHER, Andreas, D.D., LL.D., Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg
Salzburg
B. 1892 in Lienz (Tirol). Attended the Gymnasium of Brixen (South Tirol), studied theology at the Seminary of Klagenfurt (Kärnten) and the universities of Innsbruck and Vienna. 1915-1918, auxiliary priest at Spital (Kärnten); 1920-1922, secretary and chaplain to the Bishop of Gurk-Klagenfurt; 1922, D.D., Innsbruck. 1922-1929, studied civil and canon law at the universities of Vienna and Rome. 1927, counsellor of law in the diocesan administration at Klagenfurt and assistant director of studies in the Gymnasium; later on chancellor of the diocese. 1933-1943, Weihbishof (auxiliary bishop) of Gurk-Klagenfurt. Since June 1943 Archbishop of Salzburg. Said to be experienced administrator, follows absolutely the policies of the Holy See, whose confidence he enjoys. Described as the most outstanding "anti-Nazi" in the Austrian clergy.

RUDOLF, Karl, D.D.
Vienna, St. Stephen's Cathedral
B. about 1895 in Vienna. Curate at St. Stephen's and University Chaplain. According to sources, highly intelligent, good organizer and speaker, easily winning confidence. From his university days an acquaintance and even friend of Seyss-Inquart. After the occupation he tried to compromise with the Nazis. Nazi, perhaps a disappointed one.

RUSCH, Paul, titular Bishop of Lycopolis
Innsbruck
B. 1903. Since 1938 Apostolic Administrator of Innsbruck-Feldkirch.
Said to be one of the outstanding "anti-Nazis."

SCHACHINGER, Norbert Josef, O.S.B.
Kremsmünster (Oberoesterreich)
B. 1897 in Bad Hall (Oberoesterreich). Commissioned officer in the Austrian Army during the first World War, then entered the

order of St. Benedict. Held leading position in the charities of the diocese of Linz. 1930-1931, attached to the Abbey of St. John's, Collegeville, Minn., USA, as a missionary and advisor in social welfare activities. Back in Austria he did parish work at Kremsmünster. Member of Christian Social Party, not participating in politics. Said to be "anti-Nazi."

SCHNEIDER, Johann, Mgr.
Vienna VI, Gumpendorferstr. 39
B. 1888 in Zellerndorf. Formerly Secretary General of the Catholic Journeymen's Association and member of the city council of Vienna. U.

SEYDL, Ernst, D.D., titular Bishop of Eukarpia
Vienna I, Stephansplatz 5
B. 1872 in Muischek (Czechoslovakia). Formerly priest of the Court Chapel and professor at the University of Vienna; confessor of the members of the House of Habsburg. Accompanied the last Emperor, Charles, to Switzerland. According to sources, never had much influence in public affairs. Lives in retirement. Monarchist leanings.

SPITZER, Bruno, O.S.B.
Vienna, Church of St. Rupert
B. about 1890 in Czechoslovakia. Entered the monastery of St. Peter, Salzburg; was sent to parish work in Vienna. Said to be "anti-Nazi."

SPRINGER, Theodor, O.S.B., Ph.D.
Seitenstetten (Niederoesterreich)
B. about 1885 in Niederoesterreich. Was professor of physics at the Gymnasium of the Seitenstetten monastery, later on abbot of this monastery. Said to be "anti-Nazi." O.

STEINDL, Johann, Dr. rev. pol.
Innsbruck, Dreiheiligenstr. 10
B. 1877 in Weerberg (Tirol). Parish priest of Dreiheiligen-Innsbruck. Founder of the Raiffeisen bank at Kauns; formerly vice-president of the Tyrolia publishing house. 1920-1924, member of the Innsbruck city council. U.

STREIDT, Joseph, D.D.
Vienna, Erzbischöfliches Palais, Rotenturmstr. 2
B. about 1905 in Vienna. Priest attached to the Archbishop for ceremonial functions. Socially-minded, interested in creating understanding between hierarchy and working classes. O.

THIR, Anton
Bruck an der Mur
B. 1875 in Riegersburg (Steiermark). Provost, Kreis Dean and Stadtpfarrer (city parish priest) at Bruck. Under the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime member of the Bundeskulturrat and the Bundestag. U.

WEINGARTNER, Josef, D.D., Apostolic Protonotary
Innsbruck, Pfarrplatz 6
B. 1885 in Doelsach (Tirol). Provost-parish priest, also Dean of the Decanate of Innsbruck. One of the leaders of the Tirol clergy. Was chief official in the Austrian Monument Service; has written some books on Tirolese art. According to sources, pan-German, favored Anschluss; tried to compromise with the Nazis after 1938, but found out that there was no understanding. "Adopted a more cautious attitude." Disappointed Nazi.

WILDENAUER, Alois, D.D.
Vienna IX, Rectory of the Votivkirche
B. about 1874. Provost-parish priest of the Votivkirche and Archdeacon of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Districts of Vienna. Said to be one of the most influential members of the local clergy; average intelligence, but clever negotiator and excellent organizer. Said to be in poor health. Old-line Christian Social; under Dollfuss and Schuschnigg he was one of the clerical advisers of the government. Monarchist leanings.

ZIMMERL, Franz
Vienna. Address to be obtained at the Church of St. Francis Seraphicus, Vienna VIII, Auf dem Breitenfelde
B. about 1897. Was connected with the Catholic Youth Movement Neuland, but contrary to the pan-German trend of his movement he is an Austrian patriot, according to sources. Highly socially-minded; advocate of social reforms; worked in charities for alcoholics. Politically he belonged to the left wing of the Christian Social Party; had personal contacts with the Social Democrats. Said to be "anti-Nazi."

Appendix III. THE MORE IMPORTANT ORDERS AND RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS IN AUSTRIA

A. MEN

(Note: In addition to the Orders and Congregations enumerated here, there are about twenty smaller ones.)

Orders or congregations	Priests	Members: clerics and scholastics[a]	Lay	Novices	Houses[b]	Parishes incorporated[c]	Theological schools[d]	Gymnasiums[e]
Augustinian Canons Regular (Augustiner-Chorherren)	(a) 230 (b) 213	22 74	- 4	17 4	(1) Herzogenburg (N.Oest.)	16		
					(2) Klosterneuburg (N.Oest.)	23	Klosterneuburg	
					(3) Reichersberg (O.Oest.)	11		
					(4) St. Florian (O.Oest.)	33	St. Florian	
					(5) Vorau (St.)	8		
Premonstratensians	(a) 102 (b) 94	11 10	4 2	5 2	(1) Geras (N.Oest.)	18		
					(2) Schlägl (O.Oest.)	9		
					(3) Wilten (T.)[f]	4	Wilten	
Benedictines	(a) 646 (b) 485	58 31	179 54	25 6	(1) Admont (St.)	31		Admont
					(2) Altenburg (N.Oest.)	9		
					(3) Göttweig (N.Oest.)	30		
					(4) Kremsmünster (O.Oest.)	25		Kremsmünster
					(5) Lambach (O.Oest.)	4		
					(6) Melk (N.Oest.)	29		Melk
					(7) Michaelbeuren (S.)	8		

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Appendix III. (contd.)

Orders or congregations		Priests	Members: clerics and scholastics[a]	Lay	Novices	Houses[b]	Parishes incorporated[c]	Theological schools[d]	Gymnasiums[e]
						(8) Schotten (Wien)	18		Schotten
						(9) Seckau (K.)	1		
						(10) Seitenstetten (N.Oest.)	13		Seitenstetten
						(11) St. Gallus (V.)	1		
						(12) St. Georgenberg (T.)	3		
						(13) St. Lambrecht (St.)	18		St. Lambrecht (junior gymnasium)
						(14) St. Paul (K.)	5		St. Paul
						(15) St. Peter (S.)	6		
Olivetans ("White Benedictines")	(a)	11	-	2	-	Tanzenberg (K.)			
	(b)	17	-	1	-				
Mekhitarists (Armenian Benedictines)	(a)	21	22	2	1				
	(b)	7	-	-	-				
Cistercians	(a)	291	53	100	10	(1) Heiligenkreuz (N.Oest.)	22	Heiligenkreuz	Heiligenkreuz
	(b)	280	25	84	2	(2) Lilienfeld (N.Oest.)	17		
						(3) Mehrerau (V.)	-	Mehrerau	
						(4) Rein (St.)	12		
						(5) Schlierbach (O.Oest.)	8		
						(6) Wilhering (O.Oest.)	13		
						(7) Zwettl (N.Oest.)[g]	15		

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Appendix III. (contd.)

Orders or congregations		Priests	Members: clerics and scholastics[a]	Lay	Novices	Houses[b]	Parishes incorporated[c]	Theological schools[d]	Gymnasiums[e]
Dominicans	(a)	38	9	20	1	4	1	Graz	
	(b)	33	-	21	2				
Franciscans	(a)	207	50	139	14	28	12	Schwaz (T.)	
	(b)	141	51	111	-				
Minorites	(a)	18	-	10	-	4	7		
	(b)	22	4	11	1				
Capuchins	(a)	184	81	122	12	20	1	Innsbruck	
	(b)	211	66	113	3				
Carmelites	(a)	34	14	18	1	5	1		
	(b)	41	16	17	-				
Brothers of Mercy	(a)	6	7	139	18	8			
	(b)	No statistics available							
Jesuits	(a)	249	141	132	76	10	1	Theological Faculty of the University of Innsbruck	(1) Feldkirch (V.) (2) Kalksburg (N.Oest.)
	(b)	147	26	79	-				
Redemptorists	(a)	91	39	79	-	7	1	Mautern (St.)	
	(b)	70	14	57	-				
Society of the Divine Word (Steyl Missionaries)	(a)	62	175	174	68	4	2	St. Gabriel (near Vienna)	
	(b)	97	198	183	-				

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FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX III, TABLE A.

a Under (a) the figures as of 1931, from A. Hudal, Der Katholizismus in Oesterreich (1931) p. 116; under (b) those of 1941, from Kirchliches Handbuch 1943, p.31. The almost complete disappearance of novices is the result of Nazi policy and the war. For the other classes the figures may have changed considerably since 1941. K = Kärnten; S = Salzburg; St = Steiermark; T = Tirol; V = Vorarlberg.

b The technical names vary. The old monasteries of the monastic orders (Benedictines, etc.), also the houses of the Canons Regular, are usually called Stifte or Abbey, those of the Mendicants are Kloster or Convents, the Jesuits have Residences and Stations, etc.

c. See above, Sec. II.

d Some of these institutions are probably closed at present.

e Closed down or laicized under Nazi rule.

f Two of these three were closed. The data for 1943 lists only one Premonstratensian Stift in Austria, but does not give the name.

g One closed in recent years; see note f.

B. WOMEN

The number of female congregations is too large for complete enumeration here. Most of them are organized in small convents, houses, or settlements connected with schools (abolished), hospitals, homes for the sick and poor, etc. The following examples show the status of 1931 and 1941, from the same sources as used for the preceding table.

Congregation	Members 1931	Members 1941	Number of Houses 1941
Sisters of Mercy			
Sisters of St. Charles Borromaeus	204	168	17
Sisters of the Holy Cross	2228	2188	208
Sisters of St. Vincent	3950	4150	298
Benedictines (contemplative)	199	183	7
Servants of the Holy Spirit	243	221	7
Servants of the Most Holy Heart of Jesus	932	882	21
Women of the Good Shepherd	259	290	6
School Sisters	1753	1777	162
Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus	372	226	5
Tertiaries of the Carmelite Order	220	268	39
Daughters of the Divine Love	444	345	13
Daughters of the Divine Savior	1254	1158	51
Ursulines	443	289	7

Appendix IV. THE AUSTRIAN CHURCH AND THE ANSCHLUSS

In order to clarify the reaction of the Austrian Church to the Anschluss, the events are here presented in their chronological sequence.

The first official reaction of the Church was an appeal of Cardinal Innitzer published 12 March by which the Catholics of Vienna were asked "to offer prayers of thanks to the Lord God for the bloodless course of the great political revolution"; the second was an order by the Cardinal that all church bells be pealed for the entry of Hitler into Vienna on 13 March. On 15 March Innitzer had a short interview with Hitler. [1] Three days later, on 18 March, the Austrian episcopate signed a common "Solemn Declaration" which was published with a preface on 21 March. It was ordered that it be read in all churches on Sunday 27 March. These two documents are important enough to be given here in full.[2]

Preface

After thorough consideration, we bishops of Austria have decided, in view of the great historic hour through which the Austrian people are living, and in the consciousness that the thousand-year-old longing of our people for union in a great Reich of Germans has found its fulfillment in our days, to issue the following appeal to all our faithful people.

We can do this the more confidently since the Führer's Commissioner for the Plebiscite in Austria, Gauleiter Bürckel, has made known the sincere direction of his policy which is based on the motto: "Render unto God the things which are God's and unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's."

For the Church Province of Vienna:
Theodor Card. Innitzer

For the Church Province of Salzburg:
Waitz Prince-Archbishop

1. "He (Innitzer) expressed his joy and the intention of the Catholic population to cooperate energetically in the German work of reconstruction" (Official report in Neue Freie Press, 16 March 1938).
2. Translations from Toynbee and Boulter, Survey of International Affairs, 1938 (Oxford 1941) pp. 246 ff.

Solemn Declaration

We, the undersigned bishops of the Austrian Church, make this declaration with the deepest conviction and of our own free will, on the occasion of this great historical event in German Austria:

We recognize with joy that the National Socialist movement has achieved and is achieving outstanding work in the sphere of national and economic reconstruction as well as in social policy for the German Reich and people and particularly for the poorest sections of the people. We are also convinced that the danger of an all-destroying and Godless Bolshevism was averted by the labors of the National Socialist movement. These labors will in the future be accompanied by the heartfelt blessings of the bishops who will exhort the faithful in this direction.

On the day the plebiscite,[1] it will be for us bishops a national duty to declare ourselves, as Germans, for the German Reich, and we expect also from faithful Germans a sense of debt to their nation.

On 18 March the original of this declaration with the signatures was sent to Bürckel, with a covering letter saying, in part:

We bishops have done our national duty freely and without compulsion. I know that this declaration will be followed by friendly cooperation.

With the assurance of my deepest regard, and Heil Hitler!

Th. Card. Innitzer

The words "and Heil Hitler" were added to the typed text of the letter in the Cardinal's own handwriting, and the Nazis took care to have this precious document publicized in facsimile [2] together with the "Solemn Declaration."

This capitulation contrasted markedly with the attitude taken by the German episcopate. A good deal of speculation as to motivations followed. Havas, the French news agency, even suggested, on 28 March that the Vatican might have encouraged the Declaration. Innitzer

1. This reference is to the plebiscite ordered by Hitler for 10 April, which was to endorse the annexation.
2. In the Neue Freie Presse of 29 March; in the Frankfurter Zeitung, and probably in other German papers.

immediately acted to free the Vatican from this responsibility. In a second letter to Burckel on 31 March he emphatically stressed the spontaneous character of the action. He insisted:

> The Declaration followed spontaneously the significant and historic hour of the reunion of Austria with the German Reich.... I must also reject the assertion made by Havas, that the declaration is to be taken as a gesture on the part of the bishops to relieve the tension, for I hold it beneath my dignity to make gestures in such an important historic situation. The Declaration is fundamentally a confession of the voice of our German blood, and with it a turning point may have been reached in the religious and cultural life of our whole people, initiating a period of greatest inner peace and reconciliation between Church, State and Party.

This letter, too, ends with the formula "Heil Hitler."[1]

Simultaneously the Vatican through its official newspaper the Osservatore Romano, (1 April) confirmed Innitzer's last statement placing the responsibility exclusively on the Austrian episcopate. This view was supplemented by a broadcast in German from the Vatican Radio, in which the Austrian bishops were taken to task: "These pastors no longer recognize the wolf in sheep's clothing as is their duty"; they "abused their doctrinal authority, and none of the faithful should believe that he is bound in conscience to support this judgment of the bishops." Their action, the broadcast stated, will be regarded "as a lack of dignity and a breach of trust." The speech ended with a condemnation of "this false political Catholicism." On the next day it was "officially" stated that this severe address was "quite unofficial" and did not have the approval of the Cardinal Secretary of State (Pacelli). In spite of this demurrer, however, the broadcast fitted into the line of the Vatican policy. [2]

On 5 April Cardinal Innitzer appeared in Rome for a few

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1. The Nazis hastened to publicize this letter also.
2. One source credits Father August Frodel S. J. (See Appendix II) with the authorship of this broadcast.

hours, where he had an audience with the Pope. It is not known what was said to him, but the conversation resulted in the following statement published in the Osservatore Romano:[1]

1. The solemn declaration made by the Austrian episcopate on March 18 was, of course, not an approbation of anything incompatible with the laws of God and the liberty of the Catholic Church. This declaration must not be regarded by the State or the Party as binding in conscience and it must not be used for propaganda purposes.
2. For the future, the Austrian bishops demand:
   a. That no change should be made in any question concerning the Concordat with Austria without the previous consent of the Holy See.
   b. That in particular the application of all regulations concerning schools, education and youth training should be in accordance with the natural rights of parents and of the religious and moral training of the Catholic youth, according to the rules of the Catholic Church.
   c. That all propaganda against religion and the church shall be prohibited.
   d. That the rights of Catholics, the Catholic Faith and Christian principles, in all aspects of human life, must be proclaimed, defended and practised by all means open to modern civilization.

Theodor Card. Innitzer
in the name of the whole
Austrian Episcopate

Rome, 6 April 1938.

The difficulty of accounting for the policy of the episcopate is increased by the fact that, of the six dignitaries who signed the Solemn Declaration, three have since died; the three others, Innitzer, Pawlikowski (Seckau-Graz) and Memelauer (St. Poelten), are still in office. Innitzer cannot have been solely responsible for the declaration. It is true that he took the lead, but he could not have acted as he did unless backed by the other bishops, who are not his subordinates but his equals in all but a primacy of honor. The responsibility rests with the whole episcopate, or at least with its majority.

1. Translation from The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich (London 1940), p. 10.

The assertions of the Solemn Declaration and the other documents cannot, of course, be taken at face value. Very probably the wording of the Declaration was partly or even entirely prescribed by the Nazi conquerors. The technical authorship of the Declaration is ascribed to Canon Mörzinger, the press chief of Innitzer's archdiocese, a man reliably characterized as very eager to "contribute to the acceptance of the Nazi rule by the Austrian Catholics."

It is not known whether it was promises or threats, or both that the Cardinal heard from the Führer when the two met on 15 March. But the decisive turn had been taken three days before. It was Innitzer's invitation to prayers of thanks that committed the Church even before his "Heil Hitler." Tacit agreement made the other bishops equally responsible even before they signed the Declaration.

One of the signers, Archbishop Waitz of Salzburg, in an article written when the failure of the appeasement policy was already evident,[1] tried to explain and to justify the Declaration. He had, of course, to consider Nazi censorship and was not free to express all he might have wanted to say. The Archbishop stated that in December 1937 the Austrian bishops had expressed their brotherly feelings "for the difficulties of the Church in Germany," and that as late as the end of February 1938 the Cardinal had invited prayer for the freedom of Austria. "But does this hinder, once Hitler became the head of Austria, the Austrian Church in trying to find, as quickly as possible, the basis for useful work under new conditions?" He quotes the Pauline command to obey the powers that be, and contends that, since the possibility of achieving the "Christian State" had

1. Waitz, "Die Auslandskritik am oesterreichischen Episkopat," Schönere Zukunft, 12 June and 19 June 1938.

disappeared, it was a pastoral duty to do the work "under changed conditions." Even Innitzer's 'Heil Hitler' is defended: "The Cardinal of Vienna is bound in conscience to admonish the faithful to obedience toward the State authorities" and consequently had to set an example.